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Bringing It Home: Instituting Culture, Claiming History, and Managing Change in a Plateau Tribal Museum

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Bringing It Home: Instituting Culture, Claiming History, and Managing Change in a Plateau Tribal Museum

by

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Dedication

For my parents, Dr. Eugene Karson and Rosalind Karson Tol, for a lifetime of love and support and for all of my elders, for teaching me to listen.

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This fieldwork and resulting dissertation would not have been possible without the generosity, patience, and assistance of the tribal members and non-tribal members of Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, most notably, but by no means exclusively, Roberta Conner, John Chess, Malissa Minthorn-Winks, Marjorie Waheneka, and Susan Sheoships. Obviously, museum staff and the community wanted my work and studies to be done in a thorough manner. I was the first outside scholar to conduct research at TCI, which made my presence somewhat experimental. A continuing review of my dissertation subject matter by tribal members reflects a relationship I hold with the community to this day. Tribal members remain present and partners in the discourse. With their permission and support, I will go on to generate multiple kinds of documents for different audiences in my work with the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla Tribes.

I also wish to acknowledge my dissertation advisor, Pauline Turner Strong, for allowing me to take the road less traveled by and complete this graduate work while also working in an applied manner with the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla Tribes. Her patience and support has been crucial to my completion of this dissertation. Additionally, I thank my remaining committee members, Sam Wilson, Richard Flores, Elazar Barkan, and Doug Foley for providing vital criticism here and throughout my academic career.

My cherished family and network of friends in California, Texas, and Oregon have kept me grounded these several years and without them, I would have never had the courage to continue this process. So much love and thanks goes to Micah Engum and his beloved circle for seeing me through the vast and unending final details. I am forever grateful to my black lab mix, Kyla, who began this journey with me. Finally, to the extensive community of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, I owe my unending gratitude for the sustaining years of friendship, encouragement, and belief in me.

Preface

This dissertation begins with repatriation, from the larger context of a movement intertwined with worldwide reconciliation and restitution efforts to the focus of a case study within the indigenous United States. One particular struggle over contested ancient human remains and my ensuing study of cultural property led me to the analysis of repatriation in an extended realm, stretching its meaning to include the return of control over cultural and historical representation to tribes. The story stays with this same location of the Columbia River Plateau, where a tribal museum and cultural institute is established. It is located on the Native homeland and coincides with the repatriation movement while the particular litigation over the ancient skeletal remains known as the Ancient One" or Kennewick Man continued. Surprisingly, I found that the battle over bones did not figure into the sphere of the museum's daily public circulation – which stays closer to the inner sanctum of the Tribes' legal counsels and cultural resource management program – but still serves as a shadowy metaphor of the underlying efforts to restore, reclaim, and persevere.

I then turn to Tamástslikt Cultural Institute which becomes the locus of this story. It is where the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla Tribes' culture and history can be located and pointed to in a public setting controlled by them. The exhibit within serves as a backdrop to this story. Entitled "We Were, We Are, We Will Be," the exhibit portrays tribal history in a self-guided interactive multimedia experience, with cultural material displayed throughout. Much is at work as visitors (who are local, regional, international, students, and often tribal members themselves) make their way through the exhibit and stop to chat with visitors' service interpreters or linger in front of full picture windows of the homeland landscape, the larger backdrop to the museum and exhibit space, which coaxes the visitor to understand the connection between place and space. The institute becomes a site for cultural transmission, circulation, and exchange. The interactions and contents within take on a social life (Appadurai 1986). As 'things,' they are no longer inanimate objects but are accompanied with stories, meanings and messages. The experience occurs regularly as groups and individuals spend time and money in the institute, as does the dual occurrence of shifting hearts, minds, and power structures along the way.

From this point, the story moves on to what is done within this backdrop. Indigenous/tribal projects begin to be formulated, researched, and produced. The projects all have to do with the creation of a tribal perspective, very much a collaborative experiment, using elder knowledge, previously gathered intra-tribal research, fresh ethnographic data, and the existing scholarship of anthropologists and historians. It is all intermingled by the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla peoples, the three tribes that make up the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, via Tamástslikt

staff, among whom I was included. Engaging with the Lewis and Clark expedition, the 1855 Treaty Council at Walla Walla, and pre-contact Sahaptian language use, traditional and institutional knowledge was circulated, shared, decided upon, and formalized as a text-based perspective and narrative. The goal was to create a new self-representational form, one based on collaborative processes, with the repatriation of knowledge as the result. These "projects with purpose" (a meaningful insider's phrase) that Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, and thereby "the Tribes," are engaged in also repatriate the Native voice as central to the historical retelling, no longer relegating it to the sidebar of western histories, but pronouncing it as privileged tellings of the tale, as collective scholarly approaches, set up with new foundations for change and progress in their community.

The third part of this story moves outside of the building and into the daily working relationships of the Tribes, as they take place on the reservation, neighboring town, and in the region. As these dots connect, changes occur in the form of attitudes, practice and policy. Internal and external conflicts are exposed and lived out, but past historical injustices and loss are also being righted and renewed and old relationships stirred with new energies. Natural and cultural resources are preserved, protected and perpetuated. While Tamástslikt is clearly not directly responsible for all aspects of tribal development (the role of casino profits in the Tribes' economic success, for instance, nor their litigative power occurring simultaneously in this era of self-determination and renewal), the tribal cultural institute's structure and elements within daily life reinforce the story of the Tribes' past, present, and future. The cultural institute serves as a solid and grounded reminder of the overarching identifying theme heard time and time again,

“This is our home and has been our home since time immemorial. We have always been and we will always continue to be – here.”

Bringing It Home: Instituting Culture, Claiming History, and Managing Change in a Plateau Tribal Museum

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This dissertation considers the Native North American repatriation movement as a sociocultural study, in which traditional knowledge and other information accompany returns to tribes. I engage this process with the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla Tribes of northeastern Oregon (the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation) as they present, preserve, and perpetuate tribal history and culture at their museum, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute. I also explore self-representation and Native participation at the Pendleton Round-Up rodeo and "wild west" pageant in the neighboring town of Pendleton, Oregon. Investigating the connectivity between repatriation, collaboration, and representation, I ask how repatriation defines itself beyond the return of objects of cultural patrimony to influence the development of a tribal cultural and historical narrative. I argue that newly developed tribal perspectives are therefore a bi-product of repatriation. By presenting tribal perspectives based in negotiation, repatriation thus leads to self-representation via collaborative processes. Collaborative processes allow for anthropological research and knowledge to be shared,

accessed, and controlled by Native communities, thus allowing for multiple forms of repatriation to manifest. Working within a collaborative framework based primarily in grounded and emergent theory, I also brought theories of the diaspora, historical memory, and trauma to bear on my research in hopes of exploring how return is further complicated in both a literal and a figurative sense. I am informed by Native American and Cultural Studies, yet rather than rejecting or discarding the historical relationship of contact between Anthropology and Native America, this dissertation favors a discussion of changes and adjustments within it. My work contributes to the anthropological literature on tribal museums and representation, and to new understandings of the repatriation of identity and knowledge. I also hope to contribute to growing collaborative action/advocacy-based ethnographic models for conducting research with Native North Americans. An applied and collaborative methodology was employed as I assisted in realizing projects initiated by the Tribes' and operating within a particular Native worldview, spanning from curation to interpretation, at Tamástslikt. While remaining separate and distinct, my own dissertation project was nevertheless structured, informed, and achieved alongside, and in conjunction with, tribally controlled projects.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

THE SITE

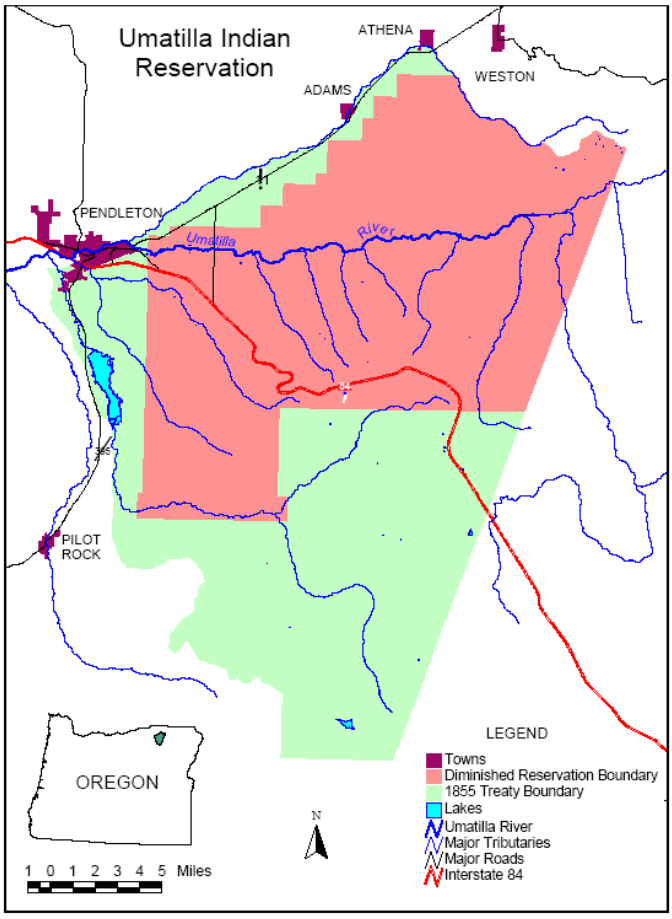

Fig. 1.1 Map of Umatilla Indian Reservation. Courtesy of CTUIR GIS Program.

The Road to the Middle of Somewhere

At first glance, the place where Interstate 84 traverses an open and arid landscape in northeastern Oregon looked like the middle of nowhere. Native America was not readily apparent to me other than the signs indicating that I had entered the Umatilla Indian Reservation. All that was visible in September of 2000 was the Arrowhead Truck Stop just off of exit 216 where I pulled off and just past it, the expansive parking lot that sits in front of the Wildhorse Casino (this spot now hosts a large, flashing "Wildhorse Resort and Casino" reader board and the Coyote Business Park is planned for the location). I went looking for people, not knowing then that there was a community all around me, just off the horizon. The richness of the area could be found everywhere once I slowed down long enough to see it there. The heart of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation was not confined to the public face of the resort. Just beyond was the Bureau of Indian Affairs agency buildings, the tribal administrative campus of departmental programs and government, three eras of Housing and Urban Development structures, a recreation center to be turned into a charter school, the tribal longhouse and just beyond it, the river, which was an entry unto itself.

The Umatilla River, one of six river basins within the ceded ancestral homeland of what are now known as the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla Tribes, was a lifeline that I would later learn had its own history. I made my way upriver almost immediately, as if that would point me towards some central location I was looking for. The shape of the landscape and the speed of the Interstate make it easy to miss the reservation and the neighboring town of Pendleton. The Umatilla River connects the Blue Mountains of

Fig.1.2 The Umatilla River. Photo courtesy CTUIR.

eastern Oregon to the reservation to Pendleton, and finally, to the mouth of what Lewis and Clark once called “the Mighty Columbia.” On the reservation, the Umatilla River flows through a ravine which is not visible from the higher Plateau on which the Interstate is built. From on high, back at the truck stop and looking north towards the

Fig.1.3 Umatilla River Basin, Mission, Oregon. Photo courtesy CTUIR.

Umatilla River and the area known as Mission (or by its Native place name of *nixyáawi*[1]), one can see across rolling hills of the Plateau to a northern highway that leads to Walla Walla, Washington. From that vantage point, the life along the river, somewhat naturally protected from its enemies of old, is completely obscured.

From a neighboring exit just west up the interstate, one parts from the traditional Interstate hotel/motel and fast food outlets, and descends into downtown Pendleton, also in the ravine of the Umatilla River. Almost right away, I heard from locals the half-truisms about the place, to be wary of the "Pendleton Vortex," a place where people either come from or sometimes arrive at under obscure circumstances, yet are never quite able to leave. Sure enough, I would experience a vortex of my own, a kind of healthy and happy obligation that will stay with me always. I soon had the feeling that the middle of nowhere was really the middle of somewhere – a somewhere I just didn't yet know or understand.

Staying with the Story

My own family history spanned the distance from New York to the Native homelands of the inland Pacific Northwest. My great-grandfather, Harry Jacobs, an

[1] Pronounced approximately "nix-yow-way", the literal translation is "place of the spring at the stand of aspens." The place name is believed to be in the Cayuse language and one of approximately ten known place names in the isolate language, whose last speaker passed away in the era just preceding World War II. Elders who remember hearing it spoken recall it having the sound of "the breaking of sticks."

eastern European Jewish immigrant, made his way from Ellis Island to Pocatello, Idaho in the late 1800's as a very young man. He lived and worked among the Shoshone

Fig. 1.4 Jacobs family mercantile, Pocatello, Idaho, circa 1900. Photo courtesy Rosalind Karson.

Bannock Tribe, the *twelke* (or traditional enemy) of the Umatilla Tribes, whose Fort Hall reservation was newly established. In his memoirs, my great-grandfather wrote accounts of selling goods from his horse-drawn cart through Indian country and facing friendship and occasional discrimination himself from other non-Indians there, mostly Mormon families. Even though he had established a successful mercantile, he did not settle in the region for good. He is pictured above leaning on a stack of blankets. The

other men are modeling his wares, including his son, at left, a Native man wrapped in an "Indian blanket" and an unknown white gentleman modeling a hat and shiny new shoes.

Facing the pressure of assimilation and daughters on the verge of marrying outside the faith, he packed up and moved the family back to New York after more than twenty years in the inland northwest. His memoirs also recount that, years later, he traveled by car back through the region towards his final destination of California. His vehicle broke down atop the Blue Mountains at a place called descriptively, "the boiling point." He was on the road which follows the Oregon Trail through the Umatilla Indian Reservation and is still known locally as "the old emigrant road." He stayed for several days while tribal members fixed his car and sent him on his way.

In addition to that stunning coincidence, I attribute my desire to work among the Umatilla Tribes as an extension of my ancestor's journey. The stories from my great-grandfather of his days in Indian country greatly interested me, especially how he was treated by Native and non-Native people and how he treated and regarded the Native people with whom he came into contact. The memoirs detailing his experiences lend insight into my own development as an ethnographer. His autobiographical text reveals a strong multi-layered identity as a Jewish immigrant, as a proud new American, and as a business man with preconceived ideas regarding the west and the Native populations. His initial fear and skepticism of the local environment turned into trust and high regard for those whom he referred to as "his Indian neighbors" (Jacobs 1950: 162). My ancestors were Jewish immigrants who experienced intolerance and discrimination. The notion of trauma being passed down generationally through a personal connection to history was a shared experience between me and the Indian people with whom I was

working, as was pointed out to me by a good friend on the reservation when she commented, "I see why you study us, Jen. It's because studying your own people is too painful."[2] Her observation as well as my own family ties to this research area led me to consider the importance of reflexivity in my work. It was not enough to just be in Indian country pursuing research, even if it was for the potential greater good – for myself, for academic knowledge, and perhaps most importantly, for the community. I needed to reflect on my presence there in so far as the work was connected to my understandings of broader topics such as generational trauma and historical memory.

In daily interaction and observation during fieldwork, I often came across moments that evoked a trauma that was being felt as part of a larger historical context, whether it was through stories being told by elders of boarding school experiences or tribal members' perspectives on contact throughout history, such as the flood of emigrants arriving via the Oregon Trail, or the legacy of museum representations of North American Native populations. At nearly every turn, there was an example or narrative of hardship and collective trauma felt as a people, and it was always placed in a historical framework. This feeling of trauma was carried into the present as well, just as those today who may not have gone through the horrors of slavery or the Holocaust can feel the pain and sting of their ancestor's time almost as if the experience were their own. By bearing witness to the historical retellings or testimonials of those epic experiences, the one bearing witness takes on the burden of retelling that oral history to future generations, and through repetition, keeps not only the history but the feeling in the oral

[2] I am indebted to Zelda Bronson and Ike Blackwolf for their friendship and many conversations.

record. Ironically, rather than carrying a victimization forward in time, the feeling may take on new importance in the form of political power or capital which promotes and gives substance to action. I will return to these issues later in this introductory chapter and then situate them in specific fieldwork experiences in the chapters to follow.

The subjects of collective trauma and historical memory are important to me as they inform the larger three theoretical/methodological frameworks that are predominant in this dissertation, those being repatriation, self-representation, and collaboration. What I mean by "inform" here is that they provide me with examples as to why these three frameworks are so important to the community members with whom I worked. One feels the need for repatriation acutely when it is framed in stories of looting or grave-robbing. The same is true for self-representation when one hears and sees first-hand accounts of misrepresentation that lead to misunderstandings of an entire people's cultural or historical being. This is exemplified through an analysis of the dominant representation of Lewis and Clark discovering northwest tribes as opposed to Native groups finding the explorers in their (Native) land and out of their (white man's) element. Collaboration then becomes important to my work in so far as I did not want to repeat historical injustices carried out in anthropology but rather, to act in a way which acknowledges those injustices and helps to repair them through collaborative models. Not only did I wish to conduct my fieldwork in this manner but this was also the desire of the tribal museum staff; it was already taking place in the first convocation of elders, students, and scholars that I participated in as my first act of fieldwork research, which I elaborate on later in this introductory chapter and in chapter 2.

The Mansion on the Hill

As I have stated, in the last decade, repatriation legislation has led to the creation of cultural centers and museums on reservations and ancestral homelands as many North American tribes have undertaken to house, interpret and display what they jointly determine to be their cultural and intellectual property on their own terms. When it opened in August 1998, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute was not solely intended for the economic incentives of tourism but was also intended to preserve and perpetuate, or house and interpret, representations of the Tribes' history and culture. As one of four Oregon Trail interpretive centers commissioned by the state of Oregon to commemorate the historic Trails' sesquicentennial in 1998, Tamástslikt is the only venue along the Oregon Trail that sits on a reservation and maintains a Native-centered approach to pre-contact and contact eras, one which privileges and details the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla particular histories, lifeways, world views and contact stories over the history of the Oregon Trail and westward migration. In so doing, the story of the Oregon Trail is told in context within the entire story of the three Tribes and one encounters this tale (via a map, exhibit text and trail memorabilia) after the mission era and before the treaty signing displays.

The term *tamástslikt* in the Sahaptian dialect of Walla Walla means "to interpret, turn over, or turn around," an indication that the space intends visitors to learn, experience and challenge previously established conceptions of history from another side. Staff view this title as generally meaning to tell their story or their version of an already told story, such as the story of exploration, discovery and westward migration in the histories of Lewis and Clark and the Oregon Trail. The title of this dissertation also

speaks to the intended use of the museum space. By using the term, 'instituting culture,' I mean to point to the formalized, structured setting where specific knowledge, information, and messages are controlled and imparted. Here, I understand 'culture' as the collective narrative and display that represents the traditional language, practices and continuity of those traditions from pre- to post-contact for one cultural group, the Umatilla Tribes.

As pointed out, the Tribes' plans for a cultural center to archive repatriated cultural material (no human remains or funerary objects) and to exhibit the Tribes' culture and history coincided with the anniversary of the Oregon Trail Sesquicentennial in 1998. Anniversaries and commemorative events are paramount among the Tribes and Tamástslikt coordinates and participates in them regularly. The Oregon Trail Sesquicentennial, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, Treaty of 1855 Sesquicentennial, and the upcoming fifty-year anniversary of the destruction of Celilo Falls to make way for the Columbia River hydraulic dam construction are all events that have public programs dedicated to them. Internally, commemorations are common practice among the tribal community as well. Honor ceremonies are held annually at the veterans' memorial. Year-long mourning periods after a death culminate in a community giveaway ceremony, whereby the family of the deceased rejoins participation with the tribal community and the name and image of the departed loved one is brought back out, to be spoken again. Healing is a factor in these commemorations, as is reaching back to connect past to present circumstances in tribal history.

Historical memory, therefore, is a useful framework for understanding the processes operating when the Tribes commemorate past events. The acts of retelling

these events through literature, display, and other modes of representation create new narratives of those events. Tribal members who exhibit and retell their past in the present public setting of a cultural history museum on their reservation are engaged in the institutionalization of self-representation of culture. This representation was not always in line with individual or family self-representations however. James Clifford refers to conflicts between institutional and family relationships surrounding returned and reclaimed cultural material. The U'mista Cultural Centre and Kwagiulth Museum both contend with family claims and stories that are empowered by returned collections, which can result in conflicts and disagreement over proper family attribution and labeling. One resolution is that "U'mista asserts ownership at a broader level: the objects appear in the museum as treasures and historical witnesses for the Kwakwaka'wakw" (Clifford 1997: 141). During my time at Tamástslikt, I examined similar ways in which the tribal community overcame issues and pursued avenues of self-representation and advocacy in the creation of exhibits, publications, library resources and archives, video and audio documentation, commemorative and cultural events, and through the extensive recovery and usage of nineteenth and twentieth century photographic images within the museum.

Manifesting a Cultural Landscape

My ethnographic research was intended to depict how tribal members represent themselves, their past, their present, and their future in public and private environments. I met and worked with a cross-section of tribal members who hold varying views on repatriation and who currently live on or off of the reservation. Some are seeking degrees

in linguistics, fish and wildlife biology, cultural anthropology, museum studies, law, politics and education. Others hold positions within the tribe that directly involve policy decisions surrounding the repatriation of tribal culture and history. Still others embody a repatriated Indian identity themselves, as they commit themselves to a life of reviving traditional cultural lifeways and of teaching them to others. From those individuals in particular, I learned how Tamástslikt contributes to a revival of interest in Native arts and crafts and performance. I was trained by an artist skilled in traditional Plateau basket weaving. This experience better equipped me for many of the interviews I conducted, so I might better understand the importance placed upon the cultural, spiritual, and aesthetic nature of their traditional artwork.

Participant observation was vital to my research goal of documenting repatriation from one tribal organization's perspective. I observed and registered the attitudes and impressions of non-Native visitors in their interactions with tribal elders and museum interpreters by routinely engaging with these groups of individuals before and after their encounters with the exhibits, lectures and performances. Through informal exit interviews, I ascertained how repatriation extends into the social, cultural and political lives of the people at Tamástslikt and then gets re-circulated to a public audience, to determine what effect this has upon that audience. I also collected information from secondary sources, written and oral, recorded, and archival. Written sources came in the form of coyote stories, museum text panels, interpretive material, and tribal political boards/commissions data. Oral sources were formal oral histories, discussions with museum staff, and language classes. Recorded sources refer to previously documented material and produced images. Archival sources were photographic and textual, and also

included primary source material stemming from the convocations. In addition to traveling to other Oregon Trail interpretive sites and area tribal museums, I reviewed web sites and other comparative interpretive models for tribal museums. I was interested in how the project at Tamástslikt is public yet highly personal to the Tribes through the establishment of family vaults, photo archives, and genealogy projects.

My combined "pre-determined" and "in-the-field" methodologies suggested differences that arose in the public versus private approaches to cultural practice. The outcome is important in order to assess the authenticity of the history being portrayed and enacted in both scenarios. They could also potentially show what the tribal members know and understand or do not know about their own history and allow me to measure their awareness and desire to promote and sustain their historical perspective or show me otherwise, that they are not all as invested as previously expected.

THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

NAGPRA and the Repatriation Movement

I first turned to the region to research my master's thesis on a cultural property dispute over the 9,300-year-old skeleton whose skull tumbled out of the irrigated banks of the Columbia River in July of 1996 during a hydroplane race, and the ensuing legal battle for him among groups, culturally affiliated and otherwise. I examined the public discourse surrounding the contestation over authority and control of the human remains,

analyzing competing claims and contrasting perspectives between anthropologists and tribes (Karson 1998).

The return of human remains, funerary objects, and objects of cultural patrimony to Native American groups in the United States constitutes a movement that began in force over fifteen years ago and is still unfolding. It was institutionalized with the passing of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), signed into law by President George Herbert Walker Bush in 1990. The impetus for this act was the legacy of collecting, whether as hobby, for profit, or for scholarly pursuit, of Native artifacts or human remains. Protection of culturally sensitive butial sites was the first part of the Act. The second had to do with repatriation, or return. Private collectors, museums, and institutions were all obliged to inventory their collections and alert any affiliated tribal groups to their holdings. Tribes could petition these bodies to have those items repatriated. What tribes would do with the returned material was left up to their discretion. Rather than displaying them, most tribal groups wanted to return the objects to their previous traditional functions, and in the case of human remains and funerary objects, the concluding act in the repatriation process was often ceremonial reburial. Some tribes built museums and cultural centers, in part to house the repatriated material, and in larger part, to interpret the material, whether it was displayed or not.

Cultural property returns are often long and arduous processes, and return can be met with celebration as well as trepidation, as in the case of the Omaha sacred pole repatriated from the Peabody Museum in Massachusetts to the Omaha people of Nebraska and described in Robin Ridington's *Blessing for a Long Time* (Ridington 1997). The pole, very much like a person, had a name, 'Umon'hon'ti' and a male gender.

The object survived from a distant past as did the people. Yet, the memory surrounding the pole's usage in ceremonies was incomplete and the community was divided on its contemporary applicability. This apprehension created a crisis in identity for the Omaha people. Treating it incorrectly might bring hardship back on to them as a people. What becomes clear in this scenario is that original uses for repatriated objects can be destroyed or fade from memory, allowing for the heritage around it to become contested. Self-representation in a public setting therefore must sometimes take on a newly produced form as communities attempt to arrive at a consensus on how to best self-represent a collective identity, heritage, culture, and history.

NAGPRA's implementation gathered steam around the movement towards self-representation, which eventually led to the creation of cultural centers and museums on reservations and ancestral homelands. Anthropological studies of tribal museums and cultural centers are growing. At this writing, according to the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), there are 231 North American Native-managed community museums (155 in the U.S., 42 in Mexico, and 34 in Canada) that are housing, interpreting and/or displaying their cultural and intellectual property on their own terms (Cooper and Sandoval 2006). First Nations groups create cultural centers, also known as tribal museums, research museums, or cultural institutes in North America as a form of self-representation now being seen across the United States and Canada. Anthropologists working in and around these cultural centers are paying more attention to tourism, repatriation efforts, and the access to and managing of research. Cultural centers act as gateways and mediators for anthropologists. They also set the stage for collaborative work to take place among anthropologists and community members.

In the case of John Bodinger de Uriarte's research on the Mashantucket Pequot of eastern Connecticut, Patricia Erikson's with the Makah of the Northwest Coast of Washington state, and Ira Jacknis' research in British Columbia, cultural centers were central. The Makah Culture and Research Center of coastal Washington, the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center in Connecticut, and the U'mista Cultural Centre of the Kwakwaka'wakw in Alert Bay, British Colombia are highlighted in their ethnographies (see Erikson 2002; Bodinger 2003, 2007; Jacknis 2002). While Bodinger mainly portrays the Research Center as a way to illustrate and represent to outsiders the restoration efforts and viability of this very small federally recognized tribe, he situates this in the context of financial gain through their profitable casino endeavor. In addition to housing artifacts from a historic repatriation from a nearby excavated village, the Makah's cultural center, according to Erikson, serves to promote traditional cultural rights to practice whaling. While mine is one of several studies in this area, the one that informs me the most is the work of Ira Jacknis. His work examines the cultural and historical exchange that takes place at the U'mista Cultural Centre. Jacknis theorizes that the tribal institution acts as a "point of culmination" (2002: 1) of the historical legacies that led to the return of objects once taken under duress, marking a new period in history. Like that of Jacknis, my research concerns the efforts of one Native community to present their own culture and history in a public center. The Umatilla Tribes also have a cultural cause to promote (similar to the Makah who promote traditional whale hunting) in the Ancient One/Kennewick Man case, but their cultural center does not focus on this endeavor directly, but rather imparts the larger tribal perspective on their culture and history. In this way, it hopes to build an understanding of the importance of repatriation

and traditional ways of knowing through changing hearts and minds, rather than engaging in direct debate over repatriation issues. Other major studies take on the repatriation movement more directly, in particular the articles found in *The Repatriation Reader*, edited by Devon Mihesuah (2000), Kathleen Fine-Dare's *Grave Injustice* (2002), and *Ishi's Brain* by Orin Starn (2005). These scholars argue repatriation is a cause of social justice and they squarely place blame on the unethical practices of excavating and collecting human remains in the past. Past historical injustices are often recurring themes in cultural centers now housing repatriated material in Indian country, but in the case of Tamástslikt, this is felt through the historical narrative of the Tribes' history, as opposed to being posed as a direct political or legal argument. When repatriation does take place at Tamástslikt, it more often occurs through a slower-paced process of negotiation and good will, almost as acts between individuals meant to reverse some of those old historical injustices.

More broadly, international restitution movements can provide a foundation for understanding U.S.-based Native American repatriation efforts. In addition to museum practices coming into question outside of the U.S., a number of UNESCO and NGO-backed reconciliation projects are ongoing. South Africa's "Truth and Reconciliation Committee" of the 1990's, collections resulting from spoils of war, and sometimes questionable acquisition practices of the British Museum all contain underlying implications of the wrongdoings inherent in the colonialist enterprise that gave birth to some of the grandest national museums worldwide. International work in restitution appeals to those redressing historical injustices. Elazar Barkan argues that restitution movements taking place create the consciousness of a collective need for reconciliation

(Barkan 2001). This collective need can be shared across international boundaries as reconciliation cases influence each other. Museums as nodes of contact representing reconciliation movements can and do influence each other. For example, the Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C. was visited by Tamástslikt's tribal planners and it influenced them greatly in its ability to establish an appropriate mood and tone for telling the story of that horrific period in history. The director and archive librarian spoke to me of the emotional experience they had in touring the museum. They hoped to replicate this human experience in some way at Tamástslikt. If the permanent exhibit could pass on the feelings invoked in the historical trauma of the Tribes' story, the visitor would leave with fresh sympathy and understanding. In several instances, I spoke with visitors who expressed undergoing a moving emotional reaction from touring the exhibit and many often lingered at the front desk to converse, ask questions, or express their feelings.

That struggle for reconciliation initially became apparent to me as I turned this topic from a global to a local concern, focusing on indigenous rights within the United States and on a particular cultural property dispute for the Master's thesis. This research laid the groundwork for a lengthier study in which I considered the relationship between repatriation and self-representation by documenting the efforts of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR) in their tribal museum, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute.

The Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Cayuse Tribes, as they are now known, make up the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR), located just east of Pendleton, Oregon. The population hovers around 2,470 enrolled members, up from the lowest numbers (near 1,100 in the 1880's), yet still well below the estimated eight

thousand at the time of contact. The CTUIR are linguistically and culturally related to the Warm Springs, Wanapam, Palouse, Yakama, and Nez Perce people of the Columbia and Snake River basins. Several of these tribes were jointly involved in the high profile and unprecedented legal dispute contesting the interpretation of NAGPRA. The case argued the ownership and control over a 9,300-year-old skeleton inadvertently unearthed in 1996, known to the tribes as *oytpama natítayt* ("the Ancient One") and to others worldwide as "Kennewick Man," due to its unearthing being in close proximity to the town of Kennewick, Washington. Indigenous status thus took on new meaning for these first Americans – who reject theories of migration and genetic drift – one that positioned natural resources as ancestral cultural resources as well. An example is the origin story which tells of the salmon being the first animal to give himself up as food for the people. Other animals, roots, and berries followed in order according to the seasons, and a reciprocal relationship was formed between the people and their "first foods." In other words, the Tribes' historical and cultural narrative comes into conflict with scientific narratives surrounding indigenous prehistory. The presence of simultaneous historical frameworks attempt to privilege both parties in a relativistic setting, but this also threatens to fragment the knowledge assigned to nature, science, and history held by groups residing in the United States today. The public nature of the Tribes' efforts for the repatriation of the remains cultivated an external impression of the repatriation movement's cause and effect, spawning much public debate (Karson 1998).

Research Questions

My research focuses on repatriation among a Native American community as it extends into the realm of memory and history that accompany the tangible return of material culture. This Columbia Plateau group has been at the forefront of a highly contested cultural property dispute over the human remains known as, "Kennewick Man" or "The Ancient One." In this case, as in the establishment of their tribal culture/history museum, the CTUIR deal with repatriation and return in tangible, emotional, and symbolic ways. The story of their past has contributed to the shaping of their identity in the present. The stories of contact almost always involve trauma as well as contestations, contradictions and struggles for authority that have not ceased in modern times.

This dissertation will examine the social, political and cultural challenges involved in the repatriation process as initiated and experienced by one tribal organization's cultural center and museum, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, located on the Umatilla Indian Reservation in rural Northeastern Oregon on the Columbia Plateau culture region of North America. However, can the projects of self-representation taking place at this institution be seen as a direct correlation to the outgrowth of the repatriation movement? Just how does repatriation lend itself to self-representation? This research question can be approached by investigating these more particular sub-questions:

- Does the cultural institute constitute a node of power that redistributes a local power base away from the non-Native community and towards the Native one?

- How does the institute function on a local, regional, and global level in terms of contact, interaction, negotiation, and exchange?

- What are the limits and constraints for the Tribes themselves in accomplishing a collective mission of historical and cultural representation and preservation?

- At what level has external culture, if at all, influenced tribal members' knowledge of the past, and if so, how does such knowledge reinforce stereotypical images back upon their Native self?

Through research conducted at the cultural institute and elsewhere on the reservation and in the surrounding area, I focused on what was and was not being repatriated, and how that process entailed a negotiation of efforts, resulting in an outcome of strengthened tribal identity. Moreover, I found that for these Tribes, even in cases when objects are not returned, repatriation exists as a process of reclaiming identity, history and control over the cultural narrative and the collective ideas and images that inform this narrative. This is often accomplished through memory and testimony. One case is that of the irretrievable loss of the major trade and fishing location along the Columbia River known as Celilo Falls, replaced by the Bonneville Power Administration dam near The Dalles, Oregon in 1957. Celilo Falls could never return once the basalt cliffs were blasted in the dam's creation. Repatriation therefore, can occur in a multiplicity of forms and become

the impetus for increased projects of self-representation. In this dissertation, I examine these forms and provide a theoretical and historical backdrop to the shifting nature of power and identity in the hands of the CTUIR as they institute culture, claim history, and manage change.

Repatriation at Tamástslikt

Repatriation manifests itself in both the private and public realms at Tamástslikt. In public exhibits, the use of photography, and participation in film, tribal members engage in representing the tribal perspective. Taking place privately is what the CTUIR tribal member and linguistic anthropologist Phillip Cash Cash calls "curatorial cultural practice" – an effort to preserve the culture and history of the tribes primarily for the benefit of the Tribes, and extends this notion through a discussion of indigenous caretaking of sacred objects such as medicine bundles in tribal museums (Cash Cash 2001: 140). I discuss this concept more at length in chapter 5. The building itself welcomes and accommodates these public and private uses[3] – seen notably in the circular lobby with two front doors – one opening onto the rest of the resort, the Interstate and the world beyond and the other to a winding walking path which reaches the heart of the tribal community. The space encompasses both approaches simultaneously, embracing both the insider and outsider. This can be understood in connection with Dean MacCannell's (1999) notion of 'frontstage' versus 'backstage' experiences in that what is being publicly presented is painstakingly laid out as consumable information for an

uninformed public, yet is circulating with the experiences and intimate knowledge of details consistent with being in a local setting. This combined effect are both at play in the formation and expression of identity politics for the Confederated Tribes.

Repatriation operates for these Native people directly within the tribal community and museum, leading to lasting changes in attitude and practice among those with whom the Tribes come into contact in a period of contested claims of ownership over cultural as well as intellectual property. Sovereignty therefore creates a more permanent foothold and basis for self-representation by creating the space where Indian contact with non-Indians is institutionalized. Negotiations of power are reinforced through repetitive contact controlled and maintained by the Tribes. Repatriation then reinforces a distinct Indian identity in similar fashion.

As the Tribes' regain some control over ancestral lands and materials and enforce treaty rights, a distinct tribal identity continues to be reinforced simultaneously. That identity is offered for consumption by the public at the cultural institute. My research with the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation revealed to me that repatriation extends beyond the standard meaning and usage of the term (the return of objects of cultural patrimony or human remains to their designated tribes) to include the reclamation, reorientation, and rejuvenation of an historical and cultural narrative based in oral tradition and driven by a tribal perspective. In essence, a repatriation of knowledge is taking place. Tribal museums are a response to and now play a critical part of the repatriation movement. The sacred Omaha pole described above was returned to

[3] By private, I mean tribal community, not private in the sense of domestic.

the Nebraska tribe and was later an impetus for their desire (yet unfulfilled) to build a cultural center. While it is possible that this effort was an attempt to salvage the knowledge of the sacred pole for preservation, unlike the museum trope of displaying static art under glass, perpetuation appeared in this case to be more important to the mission of self-representation. I sought to better understand this notion and ascertain if the cultural center I worked with was indeed a locus of perpetuating tribal culture, and if so, the challenges involved in making it and keeping it so.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

Grounded Theory

I have stated that tribal members at Tamástslikt soon made it apparent what they wanted me to learn, which was also reciprocal in turn. I arrived with research questions that were then transformed in the field location. Grounded theory allowed me to theorize from experience. Eugene Gendlin (1967) wrote extensively on experiencing and the creation of meaning through direct and sustained experience. He approached the subjective through an existentialist perspective, using philosophy to access a quantitative approach for psychotherapy, what he called "felt meaning" (1967: 13). Gendlin's work on grounded theory moved on to influence sociology as an emergent methodology made popular by Glaser and Strauss (1967). They proved that within a framework of grounded theory, methodologically, one finds one's theory after coding one's fieldnotes. In my experience, this was an ongoing process.

For this dissertation project, theory emerged out of experience. I recorded collaborative processes taking place at Tamástslikt, such as scholars and elders convening on tribal culture and history at the convocations, or the exchange between visitors and museum staff. I witnessed repatriation in the act of "coming home" and then documented ways in which the object or narrative coming home was then reproduced for public consumption, infused with something new, which I am (as they are) calling the tribal perspective. This newly developed tribal perspective, I argue, is a bi-product of repatriation. And if presenting a tribal perspective to the rest of the world is an act of self-representation, then therefore, repatriation leads to self-representation, which thus occurs but is not necessarily distinguishable until one sees the collaborative processes taking place.

Is there a theoretical trope, or point of view, expressed in this accounting? In complicating repatriation, I use one theoretical frame. Theory largely emerges from the story I am telling, but not completely as I did bring theory with me as well. In the months leading up to fieldwork, I began considering different theoretical perspectives surrounding return, repatriation, collaboration, and the move from representation to self-representation among them. Certain specific instances in the field evoked the theoretical stances that I pursue in the dissertation. When grounded in these anecdotes as examples, these instances led to my desire to frame the fieldwork through connective points between repatriation and self-representation. Repatriation entails both reappropriation and control. The purpose of repatriation for the Tribes is control and self-representation, yet appropriative practices do occur. Reappropriation of cultural forms occurs as an extension of repatriation.

I approached repatriation in a three-step process. The first concerned itself with the literature surrounding the repatriation of cultural material, which is plentiful and provides the working definition of the discourse. A canonical renaissance is taking place in academia due to reflexive work into the legacy of anthropology as a study of the Other. For example, Devon Mishesuah engages in reflexive analysis, in part to shine a critical light on the lack of Native people working in academia as well as the relationships that have been structurally in place between Natives and academics historically -- as the studied and studier. She advocates for Native people to maintain sole authority over the dissemination of their cultural knowledge (Mihesuah 1998). The renaissance is also due to the exchange of ideas within cultural centers, institutes and museums taking shape on many reservations and ancestral homelands. The movement towards cultural preservation, historical retellings and self-representation in the public sphere is due in part to NAGPRA, which allows Tribes more maneuverability to strive to return or otherwise preserve and protect traditional cultural material and promote intellectual property rights. My fieldwork showed me that the role of the anthropologist is changing to meet these new standards of representation as we continue to learn from and work alongside cultural groups.

Secondly, one must engage the social life surrounding those objects (Appadurai 1986). I contend that, like humans, the objects are moving and returning under conditions similar to a human diaspora. Repatriated cultural property becomes living cultural symbols. For example, the museum building undergoes a spiritual cleaning twice a year so that the building, collections, and those who come into contact with them will not be harmed. This is often done when an elder who worked in the museum passes

away. Objects and artifacts have the power to hold on to negative energy and are only "clean" after being blessed in ceremony. When objects come home, the transfer of the objects entails a parallel transfer of power, one that is contextualized around those objects and gains in cultural provenience as they become part of the tribal museum collection.

Thirdly, the issues of power are most keenly felt in ongoing political, social, and cultural projects and their incorporated structures, tensions, and conflicts. Ultimately, through these narratives of self-representation, cultural spaces become charged political spaces. This notion is explicitly invoked by Arjun Appadurai when he states that political value is carried by things through exchange. He asserts that "commodities, like persons, have social lives… It is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context" (Appadurai 1986: 5). This can best be understood by focusing on the object as well as on the form or function of the exchange. Meanings are found in studying the historical circulation of things and the "trajectories" of these socializations. For example, cultural property serves here as transferred objects of representation to objects of self-representation when the authority over them shifts from non-Native to Native caretaker. They tell a story for the Tribes that mark a political event which, as Ziff and Rao explain, teach us about power relationships (Ziff and Rao 1997). Borrowing occurs, they say, as things move between cultures. Appropriation makes use of that borrowing. Can appropriation also be viewed as a multidirectional phenomenon? In this contested or mediated space, a re-appropriation of the dominant is reclaimed and made new in its evolved reuse by the Tribes in their institutional setting.

Self-representation therefore becomes an event that responds to a collective need for reclamation through the objects, display, and the social life they embody and go on to

regenerate in reappropriated form. Further, interaction with technology and representation in public display ultimately challenges the ability of the repatriation enterprise to rest solely on the return of objects. The Coyote Theatre, a projected show in the round in the interior of a simulated teepee is one such example, in that the Tribes' origin story is told through the creation of a technological show. The mural of Celilo Falls in the museum lobby is another example. Old footage of salmon fishing by dip net coupled with elder's testimonials from living memory brings the past home and circulates it in the present. Lastly, historic photos in the exhibits often accompany the objects, showing their interaction with people in settings recognizable in the present.

Self- representation outside of the museum remains flexible and selective in so far as in one specific example, tribal members choose a familiar representation over a more authentic or potentially politically correct one. In doing so, a silencing also occurs as history is produced. This example is seen in the doings involved in the Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon wild-west pageant, the evening show of the annual rodeo. I take a social constructivist stance as an anthropologist studying Native Americans in this setting. Studying repatriation in this location, for me, leads to a broader base for studies in self-representation, in that there is now more material to work with outside of the museum place, yet still within the local community.

Self-Representation, Symbolic Memory, and the Production of History

My research engages power as it functions with the construction of the past, in particular how history is constantly being interacted with and renegotiated in the present

through the use of narrative and cultural symbols (Flores 2002, Trouillot 1995). Michel Trouillot's notion of historical production and Richard Flores' work with the symbol in historical narrative allow me to understand the tribal museum as a place which evokes particular collective memory, both historical and symbolic. My first and most lasting role has been to assist in the Tribes' efforts to establish their own tribal history. Scholars and elders sat down to the first of three convocations to discuss past and present historical interpretations and both groups were moved by the experience. Elders were eager to be consulted and central to the intellectual process and scholars were taken aback when they were asked to reveal their family histories as part of their initial oral introductions, in the Tribes' traditional fashion. But when asked to correct scholarly versions of tribal historical events through oral history or memory, many elders found they could or would not speak of history that was too painful or unconscionable. They had been warned by their elders never to share certain events from the past (such as the harboring of boarding school runaways) outside of the family for fear of history repeating itself or delayed retribution. In so doing, generational trauma on a collective level was on display at this convocation and the decision about whether or not to represent the more painful facets of their history was confronted by tribal members. Ultimately, the decision was made not to highlight these moments in the permanent exhibit, for example, for various reasons. For one, the painful memories that constitute contemporary tribal history should balance the positive, highlighting cultural preservation and perpetuation, not just loss and victimization. Also, to many, the boarding school system was not a total loss but a constructive experience. So the challenge was to depict this era without an over-riding

theme one way or another, not swaying the visitor to see tribal members as victims or as welcoming of this significant change.

This silencing of the more painful elements of the past revealed a trauma that is engaged with history. Much literature in the area of historical studies and trauma theory addresses trauma as passed down generationally through the act of testimonials and bearing witness. Through this interaction, generational trauma manifests itself in historical interpretation. Work in trauma theory and memory aided me in this explanation at my field site (Caruth 1995, 1996). More directly, trauma and historical memory has entered Native American historical studies. Duran, Duran and Brave Heart use historical or intergenerational trauma to illustrate a Native American resistance to any form of academic colonial process and identify an ongoing legacy of counter-hegemonic ideology (Duran, Duran, and Brave Heart 1998). These trauma processes then transfer to the display of public memory in the museum setting.

Claiming One's Own

Fig. 1.5 Billboard on Interstate 84 advertising Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and featuring The Lone Ranger and Tonto. Photo by the author.

Fig. 1.6 Moorhouse image of man at sweatlodge placed next to window, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute. Photo by the author.

Identity and place within the reservation border has much to do with the location of the tribal museum being situated in the homeland as a means of reinforcing the message that sovereign and traditional practices do take place there. This is exemplified in an area of the permanent exhibit where a life-size historical photo of a man sitting before his sweat lodge is placed next to a broad window. The view outside of this large picture window shows the same landscape that is captured in the photo. Additionally, much is physically done to remind one that one is entering the reservation. Signs and billboards at several roadside locations announce the casino resort and museum. A delicate tension also resides between the town and the neighboring reservation in terms of

their separate and collective image and identity. The town logo of "The Real West" capitalizes on the proximity of cowboys and Indians in Pendleton, and while perhaps unconsciously, the tensions, racial and otherwise, that accompany this demarcation as well.

Local borders take on a renewed place-specific importance as they contribute to identity. A tribal museum located on the reservation as opposed to within the neighboring town of Pendleton strengthens sovereignty. Another angle from which to view cultural information is offered in addition to those representations put forth during the annual Round-Up. As James Clifford aptly states, "In a local museum, 'here' matters. Either one has traveled to get here, or one already lives here and recognizes an intimate heritage" (1997: 126). Tamástslikt makes the most of the "here" aspect at various points in the exhibit and in interpretive moments. To experience the exhibits, public programs and performances, one must traverse reservation boundaries and linger there while coming into contact with tribal staff. In essence, one enters a controlled setting rather than just passing through on the interstate or perhaps viewing the exhibit elsewhere. One crosses borders into tribal territory in an act of leaving and re-entering as a visitor to a sovereign soil. Models for border theory on a reservation put forth by Douglas Foley in his text, *The Heartland Chronicles*, aid in this analysis. Foley explains, "An ethnic group preserves and renews its culture through this life and death struggle with the dominant culture" (1995: 120). In essence, he asserts that some cultural borrowing occurring in this contact zone creates a healthy tension which can result in a rich, dynamic inter-relationship rather than a dysfunctional one. Foley follows James Clifford's sense of the museum as "contact zone" where an organizing structure of power relationships is

located (Clifford 1997: 192). By following the museum trope in a new way, the Tribes are influencing the dominant culture and wielding power through reverse assimilation. The claim of stewardship by the Tribes leads to representations being best understood in their original setting, thus privileging a Native grounding in that place. For the Tribes, the past – whether represented through oral tradition, coyote stories, or from living memory – is not differentiated between history and pre-history. In their historical narratives, outsiders arrive to their homeland not in the act of discovering them, but in the form of incursions to be dealt with, exemplifying that perspectives can be shifted and then made meaningful to others through an ongoing politics of place.

More closely, Tamástslikt is a structured space where the Tribes' official story is reified. Beyond practicing and presenting, they teach their history and culture via the permanent exhibit, which becomes institutionalized in the process. To present their history and culture, tribal members have developed ways to claim the narrative for themselves (through processes like the convocations). Hence, they can claim history by taking it back, building tribal perspectives around it and representing themselves in the process. This solid foundation then becomes readily accessible, not only to themselves, but to non-Natives as well. With this new framework of a grounded tribal perspective that is produced and represented in written and visual form, they are better prepared to manage themselves and navigate changes and challenges. What is 'brought home' (as meant in the title of this dissertation) is not only the cultural material, but the messages as well. Those messages (such as "we are still here", "we have always been here", and "we will never fade") have to do with authority and control over their own story, over their own intellectual and cultural property, and over the attached representations.

Pauline Turner Strong analyzes recent developments in the concept of representation that lean toward representational practices as ethnographic undertaking. Scholarship is shifting from critiques of representation found in ethnographic authority, she says, to a practice-based approach to representation as a study. "Increasingly strict tribal control over ethnographic research in the U.S. and Canada," Strong asserts, "have encouraged a turn toward studies in representation" (2004: 351). Strong warns that research on the politics of representation and representations of identity can still be considered highly contested areas of inquiry. Also, contemporary processes of historical representation and commemoration are taking hold and struggles over representation as well as new forms of self-representation in Native America are just beginning and hold promise for future study. For instance, messages such as "we are still here" make anthropologists acknowledge rather than ignore contemporary or hybrid aspects of indigenous life. In my work, I set out to analyze the relationship between repatriation and self-representation under the conditions of a structured institution, in which processes of collaboration are taking place. The primary argument is that repatriation for a tribal museum such as this one can be understood as a return of more than objects or human remains but also of stories, histories, traditions, and narratives. Sometimes they accompany an object and sometimes they stand alone. They then are engaged with and used to produce a tribal perspective and cultural identity. This happens in collaborative fashion through the assistance of museum staff, outside scholars, and tribal members. The results are new self-representational forms on tribal history and culture that can be added to the body of information already in place.

My argument is derived from an emic perspective. It is an analysis that reflects the viewpoint of my Native informants. I was interested in the local construction of meaning and relied on emic accounts to assist me in my understanding. I use language in terms that are meaningful to the people I work with, rather than terms that were only familiar to me as an outside academic observer. While I hope that my theoretical claims will advance the study of repatriation and self-representation, I am equally invested in producing useful research and written material for the Tribes' purpose of archiving cultural and intellectual property.

Much of the theoretical inroads pertaining to repatriation, representation, and sovereignty that are significant to my work cross-apply. The story I attempt to tell is prominent and primary and I hope theory will enhance rather than interfere with its telling. Theories attached to return and representation are useful and individuals explain these notions to me using such terms as "coming home" and "telling our story." Diaspora, one theme of research inquiry I brought with me to the field was transformed as my language was transformed. But now, I endeavor to transform the language back towards an academic understanding, not to discard either but to make connections.

Many tribal members speak of objects as imbued with souls. I track the journey of objects/cultural material which precedes the journey of tribal members and others to return to the cultural practices and traditional knowledge accompanying those practices. By establishing meaning behind these actions, I can then discuss it theoretically – just what repatriation means in this context and then expand those terms through narrative. For example, control, sovereignty, and self-representation are their projects, all tied to the discourse of treaties. Taking my lead from grounded theory, by starting with their terms,

then proceeding with the ethnographic process, data analysis, and mechanics of narrative, structure, and form, I look for recurrent tropes that link these larger theories and issues -- environmentalism, tourism, public history, and culture, which are further explored in the chapters to follow.

COLLABORATIVE ETHNOGRAPHY

Collaborative Ethnography on Repatriation and Self-Representation

Once my master's thesis (which was not ethnographic) was complete, I was ready to move on to a lengthier study of repatriation and identity for this Native American community and to conduct fieldwork in situ at their tribal museum. Fraught with its own problematics, the ethnographic approach and the colonialist legacy of anthropology was plainly spelled out to me in earlier seminars and discussion groups within academia. Access, I was warned, to Native America, would be a problem. My response would be to form a collaborative relationship with those in the Tribes if at all possible. If I was to gain access as an ethnographer, it was on the condition that to the extent that I was capable, I would be a useful presence to them during my stay there.

Mine was initially one of reflexive analysis of the anthropologist in the role of collaborative advocate. I carried out my dissertation research primarily at Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and then elsewhere on the reservation and in the local community, as well as occasionally in the surrounding region. Once established as a student researcher in this field location, I was able to build a relationship of trust with potential participants

before asking them to contribute to my research in a formal capacity. I wanted them to know my background and interest and have an understanding of my research topic before proceeding to conduct interviews. My research exemplified this role for the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla, to assist in their compilation of archives of scholarship about themselves and to assist in establishing their stewardship over their own traditional cultural knowledge. I often offer a disclaimer in public that I represent those in the process of self-representation, leaving it to others to accept or reject the context of the self-representation. However, this fact highlights the conflict of interest that I found myself caught up in while attempting to be a collaborative presence.

Another potential conflict arose when I was asked whether or not I wanted to eventually apply for a staff position at Tamástslikt rather than work as a student researcher or fulfill a grant. I always replied that I did not wish to take a staff position away from a tribal member, which elicited this response from Tamástslikt's director, Bobbie Conner: "Until a tribal member has your particular skill sets, you won't be." The answer exemplifies the politics involved in my position. Any conflict of interest this might impose by not hiring from within the Tribes was less important than the need for my skill sets to contribute to the goal of the tribal museum and therefore to the Tribes. More specifically, the relationship between the Tribes' self-representation and my project is based in a collaborative framework. They welcomed me in part because the presence of an applied anthropologist working on their behalf is a legitimizing force. The museum's accreditation is at stake if there are no museum professionals on staff. While the ultimate goal is to bring the tribal members' educational levels up to that standard, my particular skills as an ethnographer, writer and researcher served Tamástslikt's mission to

create and legitimize a manageable self- representation and tribal perspective. Given that the fieldwork experience gave me a relatively closer look at the workings of the community, my presence was not considered contrary to the project of self-representation, but instead, my work would assist that process. One constraint in this collaborative relationship lay in the fact that I was not the sole authority over my own research. It was somewhat controlled by the Tribes and Tamástslikt as they offered certain projects and directions for research that would eventually aid them as much as they would aid me.

Convocations and Collaborations

It became clear to me early on that, initially anyway, the Tribes would hold a certain amount of power as they were teaching me what they wanted me to learn. Timing had much to do with the initiation of fieldwork in terms of my research questions but also in terms of convenience to Tamástslikt at that time. A convocation of elders, students and scholars was to be held in the fall of 2000 to begin research in preparation for the Lewis and Clark commemorative events to be held in 2003 through 2006. This convocation of scholarly elders and elderly scholars – held October 19-21 to coincide with the dates that the Corps of Discovery passed through the homeland of the Confederated Tribes on their outbound route two hundred years prior – signified the first of three convocations that would take place during fieldwork. Collaborative efforts such as these gave all those present a chance to come to terms with the Tribes' history and culture on a collective level. While my own research questions were not systematically

being answered right away, I was accomplishing my goals as well as theirs on their timetable. In working directly with and among tribal members and scholars of the Plateau (both not mutually exclusive groups by any means), my research questions had to stay flexible. Coming into the field, my early questions were grounded in repatriation's links to diaspora and hybridity. I soon realized my research questions needed to remain in grounded theory, evolving out of the ethnographic experience (Gendlin 1962). If I were to return to the themes of diaspora and hybridity, it would be through an understanding of how the reservation operates as a borderlands environment, where border crossings and cross influences move back and forth – appropriation and reappropriation, in essence – informing one another. Much of this cross influence occurred through the act of collaboration that I witnessed taking place at Tamástslikt. Collaboration became the basis of my research projects and my general method of ethnographic research. Those engaged in collaborative ethnography report in various ways that the nature of anthropological study of the North American Indian is changing. More and more, in fact, Native groups are becoming equal partners in research pertaining to them or taking control outright, and dictating to the anthropologist the lines of research or inquiry that would best suit the tribal community. This was partially the case in my situation.

In addition to Lassiter, Julie Cruikshank often works as an interlocutor between the cultural groups in the Yukon she affiliates with and the scientific community, who seek better understandings of traditional ecological knowledge, or TEK, usually for the express purposes of what it might lend to environmental scientific inquiry. In her book, *Do Glaciers Listen?*, she refers to this process and argues that local knowledge is

produced during human encounters rather than discovered (Cruikshank 2005). She says that local knowledge found in stories about landscape often link biophysical and social processes. Elders she worked with from the Yukon and Alaska had immediate ancestors with direct experience with climate variability during the late stages of the Little Ice Age, and memories of 18th century clan migrations involving glacier travel remain vivid in their oral traditions. In claiming that landscapes are places of remembrance, these culturally significant land forms such as glaciers provided a kind of archive where memories are stored. When this kind of social memory is couched in terms like TEK or IK (indigenous knowledge), she argues that too often it gets depicted as static, timeless and hermetically sealed. Yet by linking it to a social present, new cross-disciplinary research taking into account cultural anthropology, environmental earth sciences, and Native oral traditions can simultaneously and collaboratively take place. Similarly, in *The Social Life of Stories*, she refers to how elders' insights are so often imparted through stories. She claims that these insights can and do converge with scholarly concerns about how narrative provides a framework for experiencing the material world (Cruikshank 1998). Local stories, she contends, intersect with larger social, historical, and political processes, which can cross-inform each other in the present.

Douglas Foley and Les Field, on the other hand, destabilize the workings of any seemingly smooth collaborative process. They both engage in the practice of applied work with communities, a type of anthropology with its own critical historical legacy. Foley's (1999) thorough analysis of Sol Tax's 1950's era Fox Project among the Mesquaki is insightful in that Tax's "action anthropology" was a reaction to an earlier more paternalistic applied anthropology instigated by the Bureau of American Ethnology

(BAE) and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). In this federally sponsored relationship, anthropologists assisted in the development of policy on reservations on a national scale, often disregarding an individual community's issues and concerns. Challenging this form of anthropological application, Tax's teams of graduate students from the University of Chicago set up shop in one Native community that they considered disenfranchised, assessed its needs, and attempted to be catalysts for change in that community. While much promising work was initialized, collaborative projects and ideas seemed to be too generated and driven by the anthropologists, and very little was accomplished in the way of lasting change that the Mesquaki people would or could embrace once the anthropologists departed.

Foley sees this era of activism an evolution out of the applied form that preceded it but argues that it is still connected to the paternalism of the earlier time, suggesting that this was instead the last phase in the history of applied anthropology as anthropology-centric. Field (1999) takes this rupture a step further and points to new uses for anthropology among Native tribes beyond the applied method or at least in a new revised form of applied work, whereby anthropological tools are used by Tribes to execute their own goals. This can often take place with anthropological assistance and collaboration that is driven by the Tribes and works for the anthropologist in the field as well. The question arises then if this form of collaboration becomes a form of advocacy anthropology that positions anthropologists as always taking a tribal position on issues. Field says this is an oversimplification and I find this to be true as well. While one can advocate for the Tribes in a manner that assists their projects (of preservation or repatriation for example), one can still remain unbiased in the process, retaining a

separate and distinct voice (as the individual, academic, anthropologist) from those voices emanating from the tribal community. It is this unique positioning that I feel I undertake in my work. I will give examples of the challenges this entails in the chapters to follow.

The Question of Control

Control is a theme which I return to frequently in this dissertation. My basic belief is that there was a delicate balance of control and reciprocity taking place between myself and those I was working with. While I act as an individual in how I write my dissertation, my research was not conducted in an autonomous situation, and what I choose to write about in terms of the examples and case studies I use were decided upon and cleared with many of those I was collaborating with and working under.

The question of control in potentially collaborative research models is interesting and may not be answered by any one experience with collaboration. Luke Eric Lassiter's ethnography on the Kiowa of Oklahoma, is centered on the evolving nature of the ethnographic process due to an open collaboration he had with the community. In developing interpretations derived through collaboration and producing written results that were multivocal and accessible, Lassiter could maintain his relationships with the powwow drum community and his role as singer. Lassiter did not set out to create the definitive treatise on Kiowa song but instead engaged in "an ever-emerging exercise in understanding the power of Kiowa song" centering more on new understandings that could be revealed in this process (Lassiter 1998: 14).

I too had a role to fulfill as a member of Tamástslikt's work force, even if as an unpaid volunteer, while conducting ethnographic fieldwork. Much of what I learned was what they wanted me to learn, which I combined with my own observations and analysis. I found that this tribal museum functions as a community organization bringing Native and non-Natives to the same place, weaving peoples, histories, objects and stories within it. While I attempt to tell their story in my voice as an anthropologist, it is important for the work to also be accessible to the tribal community. The Tribes do not have a claim on my voice, yet I hold a responsibility to conduct as honest and fair a job as possible in my work with tribal members and programs while studying in their homeland and often under their tutelage.

I will analyze the theme of control more fully in chapters 3 and 4. At the outset, however, I wish to make clear that control was an explicit factor in the general processes taking place at the museum and was often negotiated between Tamástslikt staff and myself. I was asked to do certain tasks and to take part in projects and was happy to do so as it would help me further my own research. For example, when I worked with curators to clean the collection of objects at the city museum that were slated to be repatriated, I was able to observe and understand the importance of the objects to tribal members. I was shown how to handle the objects and, in some cases, how not to handle them. Only men cleaned the male feathered bonnets and regalia. As a woman, I was trained to handle baskets and bags. As we were cleaning, I listened to stories about which families used to own these particular artifacts before they became the property through trade of local amateur photographer, Major Lee Moorhouse, and then, upon his death, the property of the City of Pendleton. By assisting with this repatriation project in

the manner in which they found me to be most useful, I also was able to accomplish my goals of learning more about the process of repatriation as it entailed the transfer of representation to self-representation. Therefore, this situation may have structured my fieldwork experience but my simultaneous research was still in my hands. Additionally, I took time to interview museum staff and visitors, pore over resources in the archives, and follow-up with this repatriation project by learning more about the photographer Moorhouse, tribal members relationship to him, and the issue of contamination in the returned objects in his collection (all of which are detailed further in the chapters to follow). In sum, in my experience, Tamástslikt as a tribal organization drove most of my daily routine. As an anthropologist, it was my obligation to work within the structure of the tribal museum, and often times under the authority of the staff there, while being sure to continuously respect their concerns and goals.

OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

Repatriation Efforts, Direct and Indirect

Among my daily tasks during fieldwork, I documented tourist reactions to the museum, compiled a "frequently asked questions" record, attended to email requests from the public, covered the front desk during peak operational hours, and observed staff interactions with individual tourists and groups. Much of my daily fieldnotes were comprised of data concerning the museum as a public space. This data would be

essential in understanding the historical and cultural narrative that the Tribes are attempting to portray in a museum setting.

I also worked with and interviewed key tribal members whose expertise lay in distinct areas of the repatriation effort at the museum. These included: Roberta Conner, Director of Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, who informed me of the political steps being taken by the tribe as they regain a foothold over their historical knowledge; Malissa Minthorn-Winks, archival librarian, whose role is to create a repository of intellectual property pertaining to the tribe; Marjorie Waheneka, curator, who creates and maintains the permanent and temporary exhibits; and (the now departed) *Átway*[4] Calvin Shillal, the tribal faithkeeper, or "whipman," who researched and often reassigned traditional information and meaning to cultural property returns in his role as photo historian and archaeological technician. I also interviewed Armand Minthorn, who, as head of the Cultural Commission for the Tribes, is directly involved with the preservation of culture as a natural resource. A religious leader and tribal spokesman for the Kennewick Man controversy, Mr. Minthorn was also the acting chair of the National Committee on Repatriation, a review board that mediates repatriation cases for tribal organizations. All of the above agreed to be interviewed for at least three sittings of two hours duration and to be audio-recorded based on the stipulation that they might view verbatim transcripts of the interviews and identify any sensitive material that they deemed inappropriate for public use, such as details pertaining to sacred site locations.

[4] *Átway* is traditionally employed among Sahaptian language speakers as an honorific term when using the name of the now deceased.

I documented several repatriation associated projects at Tamástslikt, on the reservation or in the area. These included: a repatriation of the city-owned collection of tribal artifacts and the transfer of material from the town museum to the tribal museum; the development of the tribal interpretive plan to coincide with the commemoration of Lewis and Clark's Corp of Discovery passing through the tribal homeland; the convocations (history, linguistic, treaty) resulting in verbatim transcripts of proceedings to be incorporated into a tribally produced historical narrative (Karson 2006); the repatriation of western films taken on the reservation and organization of a film symposium to discuss changing representation of Natives in film in the region; the repatriation of the Indian Claims Commission legal dockets from the private papers of Charles Luce (first attorney hired by the CTUIR) from Whitman College to the Tribes, which coincided with the commemoration of "Charles Luce Day" on the reservation; the development of Crow's Shadow Art Institute, a local Native arts institute located on the reservation in the former Catholic mission school. Finally, I observed the establishment of the Wallowa Nez Perce Wallowa (or Chief Joseph) Band homeland project. Part of the act of coming home in this case is to make a yearly return to the birthplace of Chief Joseph, who was Cayuse on his mother's side. Many on the Umatilla Indian Reservation claim decent from the Joseph band. Those that fled with Joseph to the Canadian border in the War of 1877 were exiled on the Umatilla Indian Reservation. An annual powwow and friendship feast called *Tamkaliks* (loosely meaning 'from where you can see the mountains') is held in the Wallowa Valley and a cemetery has been reestablished in a remote hillside to accomplish the final act of coming home from exiled locations.

Repatriating the 'Vert' collection from the city of Pendleton entailed the transfer of material from the town museum to the tribal museum, and I assisted in the transfer of this collection. The collection consists of Plateau Indian cultural material collected by a Bureau of Indian Affairs agent and amateur photographer, Major Lee Moorhouse, who worked on the reservation at the turn of the 20th century. I learned the procedures and investigated the meanings involved with re-inventorying, cleaning (physically and spiritually) and preparing the objects for transfer. In addition to his collection, Moorhouse's extensive photographic documentation is vital to the museum as it guides the permanent exhibit and offers images of cultural practices as well as genealogical information. Finally, the collection and photos serve to renew interest and participation in Native arts and performance through evidence of tribal ancestors, often photographed in traditional regalia, that are now on display.

My Collaborative Presence

Among my first tasks at Támaststlikt was to assemble relevant ethnographic material for the museum archives and to mentor tribal members in the recording and video documentation of oral histories. I studied Nez Perce, the most common of the Sahaptian languages still spoken on the reservation. One class was taught by tribal elders verbally, using memory, and the other was taught structurally and grammatically by a professional linguist who works for the Tribes' language program. I was there to assist, to learn, and to come away with data and analysis. My hope is that my presence benefited the tribal organization as much as it benefited me. Much of my research is pertinent to

and congruent with the research goals of the tribal museum. They are interested in the data I will compile and I have agreed to make my research available to the tribe for their use. Self-representation is their ultimate goal yet they value collaboration as well. Many articulated their views on this subject matter for the first time. In addition, they will understand that my project can begin a collaborative relationship that will extend beyond my research stay.

In addition to my involvement with the activities and events within the tribal museum, I developed ties extending into the community. I participated in ceremonial festivities at the tribal longhouse according to their seasonal round, participated in an adoption ceremony, and witnessed NAGPRA-related reburial ceremonies on the invitation of the tribes' Cultural Resources Protection Program. Fieldnotes from that experience revealed a strong cooperation from outside agencies to make the process come to pass:

> The grave site was on land managed by the Department of Energy. It would be protected from looters, was in the centrally located area of the tribes and went back to the earth near as possible to where it was unearthed.
>
> …A DOE official then spoke and began to get choked up, saying that this repatriation and reburial was a six year process.. He said he thought a lot about who this person was and his home. Another DOE person spoke and said he was grateful it was over and he was glad that the first DOE official who spoke would not have nightmares anymore.
>
> …We drove by the Kennewick Man/Ancient One site. Armand pointed it out. I was surprised at how local it was, in town, near the road, with housing across the river. I said, don't people know it's there? He said it's pretty patrolled by the Army Corps of Engineers. Didn't they dump rocks on it, I asked? He said, yea, and people think that's what destroyed the site. We chuckled (because digging does).
>
> …Odd that the skeleton reburial was on DOE land, but it makes sense. No one reservation or tribe can claim it and it's protected from looters or tourists, hobbyists, etc. can't get to it. Diana told me later that it took so long because the tribes were fighting over it. The Yakimas didn't show in protest. They wanted a reburial closer to the river, or

more down river, closer to them. She continued that NAGPRA is confusing because each situation is different. The law can't just be applied generally. And then tribes fight over it too. It sounds like it in this case. [Karson fieldnotes, 4/2001).

Choosing this field site to conduct research with Native Americans and their relationship to 'new western history' and the changing notion of the "frontier" may appear haphazard on my part. While I have family ties to the region, I am not an insider in their eyes and could be considered by some to have no business interpreting their cultural lives. It was necessary to put my theoretically-informed ideas before the people I intended to work with. Ultimately, I could have probably conducted research based upon this theoretical framework among other cultural groups in the west, creating a dilemma: it was not imperative that I work specifically with the Umatilla in order to forward my research.

Yet, in relation to my own research inquiry, this particular group is and has been critical to my study. The group is centrally involved in the lawsuit over the ownership of the pre-historic human remains. A fundamental part of my research questions involve the evolving relationship between anthropologists and the Native American groups they have traditionally studied, and this tribal organization is currently asserting their sovereign rights in this cultural property dispute and elsewhere. They are also exercising their right to self-representation through the creation of Tamástslikt. In this forum, as well as through other technological mediums, they are retelling their view of the past. This tribal group is actively participating in their history in the present, without the aid of outside cultural interpreters. Tamástslikt is quickly becoming a leader in this area, as evidenced by the Director's growing national reputation. The task at hand is to participate and

observe this cultural agency without hindering the process of "claiming authority" the group is striving to maintain. This is a central theme of the dissertation in so far as the role of anthropologist in this setting was, and continues to be, a collaborative one.

Further Exploration in Collaboration

Luke Eric Lassiter argues in *The Chicago Guide to Collaborative Research* (2005) that perfectly good models for this method have been around for a very long time yet have been too often ignored or discarded. Collaboration of sorts has always been a consequence of the intimate relationships that define anthropological research, Lassiter informs us, but it is no longer just a taken-for-granted consequence of fieldwork, collaboration now preconditions and shapes both the design and the dissemination of research (Lassiter 2005). He claims that anthropology has seen a move from incidental and conditional collaboration to the building of a more "deliberate and explicit collaborative ethnography" (2005: 79). Collaboration has always been part of ethnographic practice on some level, but on an individual level, Lassiter now calls for "embracing collaborative action as an extension of collaborative research, as a necessary condition of practicing the craft" (2005: 154). His brand of a deliberate and explicit collaborative approach has four major tenets: ethical and moral responsibility to consultants; honesty about the fieldwork process; accessible and dialogic writing; collaborative reading, writing, and co-interpretation of ethnographic texts with consultants.

His model may be useful as a barometer for collaboration, but variations on his take are also valid. Comparing and contrasting my collaborative approach with his tenets will help me to ascertain where we differ in our models and argue for the differences I see as still

valid collaboration. His model "…explicitly seeks to restitute control and authority within the ongoing dialogue about the evolving ethnographic text itself rather than with the single-voiced author" (Lassiter 2005: 146), whereas my goal is different. Those I work with do not collaborate in writing my text. Rather, I worked alongside them in gathering my research data. That data was shared with other Tamástslikt staff and merged into other projects. Anything I write gets read and sometimes used in other written efforts on behalf of the cultural institute, such as in grant applications, letters, speeches, or articles. Much of what I write is therefore shared in the field. I would suggest that this is an example of true collaboration and in line with Lassiter's definition of collaborative action. The community members I worked with will use the ethnographic text in multiple meaningful ways. Additionally, there were two side by side manuscripts. I was writing my dissertation at the same time that I was collaboratively writing and editing the Tribes' history book with them (Karson 2006).

In reference to my fieldnotes being included as emergent thought in the body of my dissertation, this is a form of narrative ethnography. Anthropologists must ask themselves today, 'who do we write our texts for?' I write my dissertation for myself, for the tribal community, and for the academic community. Parts are offered up to the community I work with to re-use and re-work. I only consider it to be my intellectual property in the academic realm. It has been shared with the community from whence it came from the outset. The community I speak of here is more precisely the staff at Tamástslikt. My ideas and conclusions about how repatriation operates at Tamástslikt is shared among my colleagues there. In essence, it is where many of the ideas that became part and parcel of the dissertation began so it seems wholly natural to see those ideas shared and taken in different

directions. Some of the information I have put into writing has also found its way into public discourse. When Bobbie Conner questioned me about my dissertation topic as I was in the process of completing the dissertation, I discussed the notion of repatriation of knowledge back to the Tribes that I see taking place at Tamástslikt. She has since used the term in interviews and other forms of public discourse to describe in part the project goals of Tamástslikt.

When I arrived at my fieldwork location, the Tribes' goals were to seek collaboration. The staff had already started that project of collaboration through their plan to host the three convocations of elders, students, and scholars. The hope was that these convocations would result in more than just talk but in action and production. My collaborative work came in the form of helping to realize these actions and productions further. This also allowed me to simultaneously actualize collaboration myself.

In order to describe collaboration more firmly, I will elaborate on my position as Publications Coordinator. In the years following my period of fieldwork, I was hired by the Tribes to fulfill an Administration for Native Americans federal grant. The grant funded me to organize the results of the convocations into books and other publishable material. The main project was a history book of the three tribes authored by a compilation of tribal members and scholars (Karson 2006). Aside from fulfilling that project, however, I was asked to and expected to become involved in other writing projects. On a typical day, I was often asked to proofread and assist in the writing efforts of other staff, whether they were working on grant proposals, visitor services information, or press releases for the museum, for example. I also co-authored a booklet or gallery guide for the permanent exhibit, which centered around the historical moment of Lewis and Clark's visit to the tribal homeland (a

project that is detailed further in the next chapter). These extra roles quickly became part of my daily routine. The rest of the day was devoted to transcribing the recorded tapes from the convocations, conducting follow up oral history interviews, or researching and compiling an inventory of outside sources on tribal history. Once the authors were chosen for the history book, I worked with each author on an individual basis, assisting in the research and writing of their chapters, and finally editing and merging all of the chapters together. Much of my editorial assistance came in the form of listening to the authors as they discussed their chapter topics with me while I took notes or recorded them. In many instances, this practice became the basis of the written work. I learned the form of collaboration the tribal institute was looking for from them directly and together, we placed me in a collaborative role.

I situate my work alongside that of Julie Cruikshank's in that she has an ongoing and yet changing collaborative relationship with the community she works with. In *Life Lived Like a Story* (Cruikshank 1990), she makes the point that life histories of Native Yukon women are more recently being privileged as ways to convey another culture over the standard ethnological practices often conducted by a single outside scholar. Life histories can contribute to explanations of cultural processes and are best done when the anthropologist and the informant act in an ongoing collaboration between interviewer and interviewee. This was the case for me as I worked with various authors on the history book project. The result was a more direct project of sovereignty. Had I reinterpreted the author's words and theorized upon them, the tribal history book would have been much more a product of my own voice. Instead I try to reserve those instances for the dissertation.

Instituting Culture, Claiming History, and Managing Change

In chapter 2, I continue to locate myself in the theoretical literature of the three themes of repatriation, collaboration, and representation. Reconciliation as an aspect of repatriation will be explored and I will continue to develop my relationship with other collaborative models for anthropological work. I will explore where the exhibit strives to change hearts and minds, and where this may work against the limits of representation, exposing where hegemonic and oppositional tendencies and multiple representations are possible. I discuss the convocations I became involved with right away which serve as collaborative examples of repatriating history and narrative. I refer to other forms of repatriation taking place at Tamástslikt and I focus on a case study surrounding a Native artifact collection housed in an auditorium in downtown Pendleton as an example of repatriation that did not come about through the enforcement of NAGPRA legislation alone. While the law was used as leverage with the city, it was through a negotiated process that the return of these objects came about.

I examine my role in the return of the objects and the process of becoming involved in a collaborative ethnography through an understanding of Luke Lassiter's (2005) model for collaborative ethnography and discuss how these may be in contrast to the collaborative experiments in applied and activist anthropology put forth by Foley (1999) and Field (1999, 2004). I then follow through with the examination of what takes place when Native objects return to the Tribes, in line with the earlier discussion of Appadurai's, *The Social Life of Things*. I also incorporate Julie Cruikshank's work, *Do Glaciers Listen?* (2005), where she concludes that glaciers are animate actors endowed with life. This animating gives life to oral traditions and creates the inclusion of nature in

human affairs, all of which appear to give added weight and importance to some of the projects of self-representation being undertaken at Tamástslikt.

While repatriation is at the center of this study, self-representation and acts of sovereignty soon follow. How repatriation takes place tells much about how the Tribes engage in representation and sovereignty and how a borderlands critique can aid in this assessment. While this dissertation is about repatriation, it is not intended to be part of an archaeological debate or the implementation of the terms of NAGPRA. It is not about re-appropriation of previously appropriated material and making something new again. I am more interested in how repatriation as a form of return is evidenced in everyday events. I take the theoretical terms I started with and transform them, filling in with detail. I can then engage in just how repatriation as a trope is connected to the notion of 'homeland.'

In chapter 3, I explore the structural elements of the history, economics, players, and events that make up this subject of study via a thorough explanation of Plateau life from pre- to post-contact. I discuss the Oregon Trail sesquicentennial as the initial impetus for building the museum and exhibits (and will offer comparisons later in chapter 4 as an etic study of other Oregon Trail interpretive centers). I then move from the aspect of repatriation to how the cultural material being repatriated is then used for the development of a tribal perspective regarding history and culture. In some respects, this involves re-use of previously appropriated knowledge. I analyze how repatriation is tied to and can further enhance self-representation in the museum setting via the products, programs and publications that are produced there once the tribal perspective is put in

place. I use the Lewis and Clark bicentennial commemoration as an example and rely on Ziff and Rao (1997), Flores (2002), Trouillot (1995) and Gillis (1994) in my analysis.

Additionally, I examine how the collection of stories that accompany returned cultural property effect and/or re-effect a tribal collective identity. By repatriating the narrative voice, tribal members become the managers of this history. They appeared renewed with the power to overcome the past and deal with it in the present on their own terms, as exemplified in the repatriation of western films that tribal members appeared in. The repatriation process thus becomes one of reclaiming identity and memory along with the artifacts and remains. By working with the tribes in the formation of their tribal history, I attempted to discern how the stimulation of recollection occurred as part of the repatriation process, contributing to an archive of cultural memory and history and, often a healing through the reclamation of those images, stories, objects and processes themselves.

The contexts in which people are re-narrating this history (whether initiated in the larger Native/non-Native community) are intergenerational. Families pass down myth-time or historical stories to younger generations through oral repetition. The narrativization of self and how history is presently being mediated, i.e., worked out or expanded upon occurs simultaneously. Historical differences along the Oregon Trail are evident and the development of the tribal "perspective" on Lewis and Clark is a case in point. Collaborative construction of history and identity was certainly observable at Tamástslikt. Rather than a total reclamation of indigenous cultural information, I witnessed a re-appropriation of previously dominated western history to fit the Tribes' needs, and to retell their stories, such as those being constructed for the Lewis and Clark

expedition and the Oregon Trail migrations into their ancestral homeland. Whether by hybridizing or crossing borders to identify with both worlds, Indian and non-Indian, a unique merging of information occurred, resulting in a savvy and successful community of diverse individuals who collectively own and capitalize upon their cultural wealth and authority.

Finally, in this section on claiming history, I am concerned with how the Tribes renegotiate their past through the current historical moment. I also return to the theme of commemoration as a vehicle for tribal efforts in self-representation. They are claiming history in a multi-vocal process and developing a tribal perspective from it. While anthropologists have many voices, in this setting of fluctuating control, I take care to maintain mine, yet not from an overly authoritative positioning, but rather from one that must be unique from the voices in the tribal community.

In chapter 4, I discuss how these new forms of self-representation then lead to greater acts and aspects of sovereignty. Hearts and minds and attitudes change as roles and perspectives and representations shift. The public and political presence of Tamástslikt, acting as a constant, reinforces that change. A comparison of other Oregon Trail interpretive centers highlights and makes this point explicit. But even with this change, tensions and conflicts remain, internally and externally to the Tribes. An assessment of the political relations between the Tribes as a whole and the cultural institute provide examples where dissent and disagreement occur. The true internal dynamic of the Tribes is not a homogenous one, but provides a spectrum of perspectives. It is important to represent those views in their complexity as much as possible. Concurrently, as I differentiate my voice from the cultural institute project, I hope to

show that the depth of my insight is not a betrayal to Tamástslikt's mission, but rather, an honest accounting that allows for multiple visions, opinions, and agendas.

I also look beyond the museum setting to the Tribes' relations with the non-Indian community and develop the example of the Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon Pageant as a study in what I deem a local form of neo-traditional representation. Crossing local borders often creates shifts in place and perspective. Comparisons to the town of Tama, Iowa in Doug Foley's work can be made to Pendleton, the neighboring town of the Umatilla reservation, and once a part of the reservation (Foley 1995). Indian participation is crucial to Round-Up as local history is repeated annually, performed and re-circulated through a reaffirmation of the town's motto, "The Real West."

Appropriation is a concern of the repatriation process and spawns new forms of self-representation. Borrowing takes place to assert that self-representation. The museum trope is one example. Even though the Tribes reject the legacy of the non-Native controlled museum space, they recreate it in form. Naming it an 'institute' as opposed to a 'museum' constitutes an act of resistance, but within parameters accessible to all. Ultimately, the project of repatriation and re-narrativization of the past is still a negotiation. Some internal conflict also continues to exist – some tribal members view the CTUIR as guardians of their history and culture, and reject scholarly interpretation, collaborations, convocations. and the like. Still others welcome the presence of others willing to work to preserve and perpetuate the cultural knowledge of the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla people. Tamástslikt's mission also comes under some scrutiny in that it can run counter to the tribal policy of protection through non-

disturbance and reburial. Public interaction and display can therefore at times, appear at odds with that policy.

At its very base, my view of repatriation constitutes the act of coming home. However, there are multiple constraints, conflicts, and tensions involved in this process. An aesthetic Marxist approach suggests that the greater the mobility of capital and labor, the stronger the nostalgia for place-specific identity (Harvey 1989). This mobility creates the flow of capitalist accumulation back to the Tribes. Like people and capital, the migration of cultural material can also undergo a form of diaspora (Clifford 1997), culminating in this return to place, even if a myth of return also exists simultaneously.

The notion of the 'myth of return' originates from identity formations among diasporic Jews in relation to the development of the state of Israel, referring to their desire to have a place where they could return. The term is now more widely employed in refugee and migration studies, as exiled groups get caught up in transnational circumstances not of their own making. The old phrase 'you can't go home again' rings true in the case study of tribal repatriation as well when the act of restitution is a conditional return or presents complexities. I analyze these aspects via a case study of a local repatriation of a collection of artifacts from the city of Pendleton. I also return to the themes of access and control in this chapter as the authority in the field subtly passes from anthropologist to Tribes and I investigate what this has done to the anthropology museum trope. I tie these observations to the politics of place and the boundaries that I recognize in my own research.

In the conclusion to my dissertation, I return to my main themes as I locate my case among others involving similar processes. I look for other models for expanding the

meaning of repatriation, reflect back on collaboration as ongoing and prepared for the future, and explore more systematic comparisons. I reflect on what I have gained from this project of self-representation and my positioning therein. I look toward my own obligations to the fieldwork community and to academia, locate where my theoretical formulations feel solid and yet can remain fluid, open to internal and external re-interpretation, and acknowledging that my own examination in this larger field is selective, partial, and situated. I detail Tamástslikt's ongoing projects and return to the themes and theories that were significant to this study, showing through my work how I hope to affect the literature in repatriation, representation and collaboration.

Also in this final chapter, I will assess how the research gathered here may be useful to the Confederated Tribes as well as to the academic community and return to the language that I entered into the field with and that I left with, making connections where possible between the two discourses. I revisit commemoration as an ongoing trope and the oral histories being gathered as the Tribes approach the fifty year anniversary of the construction of the Dalles Dam and the destruction of the majestic fishing and trading area known as Celilo Falls. John Gillis is useful in this exploration of how historical memory is used (and can also be abused) in interpretations of public space. As Gillis warns, "Today, packaged forms of both memory and history have proved so profitable that we must be wary of the results of commodification and commercialization as much as the consequences of political manipulation" (1994: 19). This is an important warning since many oral histories are gathered and used by the tribal museum staff. Meant as archiving the oral record, this gathering can also constitute the basis for the development of a collective tribal history. Finally, I lay out the ongoing contamination crisis that

caught the Confederated Tribes and Tamástslikt by surprise, a crisis which is now being seriously assessed by all tribal groups receiving repatriated materials.

This dissertation is the documentation of nearly a decade of work with the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, which began with master's research conducted off-site and concluded with the Tribes employing me in a collaborative manner that allowed me to complete the ethnographic project while working with and for the Tribes as an applied anthropologist. By answering the call to what the Tribes were in need of at the time of my intended research, my role, usefulness, and positioning were all tied to my negotiation of access and to the achievement of a productive and successful fieldwork experience.

Reflections of the Day

Sherry Ortner's ethnography of her high school class closes each chapter with excerpts from her fieldnotes (Ortner 2003). Using her technique, as a representational style, I intend to intersperse excerpts of my fieldnotes in chapters when constructive. I include these notes as real-time thought processes and juxtapositions to the narrative text in order to track the inevitable change and shifts in perspective that follow. For example, consider one focus of the extreme outsider: the annual rainfall on the Columbia Plateau averages 12-16 inches per year. This is one of the many facts I was armed with when I arrived in northeastern Oregon in the fall of 2000. Even after months of research preparing for exams, detailing a pre-fieldwork prospectus, establishing contact and access at my field location back in August of 1999, with my own copy of the Smithsonian's

Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 12, The Plateau (Sturtevant et al. 1998) at the ready, I arrived the following fall still laden with my own preconceptions and anxieties rooted in a particular social class and environment, as one of my first entries in fieldnotes solidly depicts:

> This feels like the middle of nowhere. I'm stuck at the crossroads, have been to seven nearby towns in one day in search of accommodations. Finding a place to live seems to be best achieved through word of mouth, from bars to country stores. No rentals appear to allow dogs anywhere. I feel displaced, and threatened, clearly the outsider among locals. And yet, the yellow foothills stretch as far as the eye can see. At first glance, the reservation has beautiful country. The Patels (the South Asian family that run the Travelodge in town) feel like family and have taken Kyla and me in under a monthly rate. [They too were outsiders among the basic groups here, mostly ranchers, farmers and "cowboys" and Native people moving towards a middle class] Every day is a small victory. [Karson fieldnotes, 10/2000]

Anthropology is a very personal project for me. Ethnographic fieldwork is a journey of one person as much as it is the gathering of research and the culmination of analysis based on that research. To ignore my experience on a personal level would be to tell only part of the story. Including the occasional reflexive analysis and striving to see it as such will aid me in the overall arguments I make as they become more discernible on a conscious level and less invisibly tied up in my own experience.

Chapter 2: Instituting Culture

Repatriation Redefined

Repatriation efforts as a socio-cultural study began for me with the story of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, three bands of peoples living and trading in relative peace on the Columbia River Basin "since time immemorial." I first encountered this phrase from Armand Minthorn, a religious leader and tribal spokesman for the Ancient One, who often used it in public speaking as a way to explain indigenous occupancy of the land (Minthorn 1996). He was constantly in the position of explaining the occupancy in public discourse surrounding the claim over the contested human remains, whether to journalists or to lawyers and judges in the court proceedings. The belief system is also explained to federal, state, and local agencies that the Confederated Tribes deal with on a regular basis, such as the Army Corps of Engineers or the Department of Fish and Wildlife – in particular, when these government agencies change appointed officials, which often occurs every two years. Implied in these three words is the belief that the three tribes originated in their homeland, as narrated in their origin stories; the phrase, thereby is a rejection of migration theories or theories of genetic drift. The predominant origin story of *Ny'šla* (the monster) who swallows the plants and animals and is rescued by Coyote is recounted in the Coyote Theater at the beginning of the permanent exhibit in Tamástslikt. It is a small projection theatre-in-the-round formed in the shape of the interior of a tepee, complete with a simulated central fire and starlit night sky. While this story has to do with the coming of the *Natítayt* (the

people) and their relationship with the natural world, Tamástslikt is also telling the story of contact with other Native groups, whether friends, relations or enemies, and eventually with non-Indians.

Both of these scenarios create the space for the repatriation movement to be defined beyond the return of objects and to influence and coincide with the advent of the tribal museum**.** Mr Minthorn is arguing for the return of the human remains and often has to justify this claim with the narrative of his belief system. The tribal museum is a place where this story and hence justification for repatriation is made more permanent. Ironically, the Coyote Theater has been inoperable for several years now due to its complicated technology, and the story of the *Natítayt* has gone back to being told through oral repetition by Visitors Services staff as part of the interpretation of the permanent exhibit. At any rate, as more of the general public becomes aware of the tribal efforts to restore, reclaim and preserve their history and culture, as in the case here of the origin story, the more repatriation and self-representation become intertwined. When viewed within the space of the museum where objects are only part of the exhibit display, repatriation appears to be taking place in negotiated form via the Tribes' retelling of their past to predominantly non-Indian tourists in a museum setting. Their origin stories and contact stories have come home as well. Just as repatriated cultural material has come home from far away institutes and archives, narrative too has come home from the pages of anthropological texts or from other forms of non-Native enterprises.

In addition to the circulation of meaning taking place as people make their way through the exhibits at Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, information and stories are generated orally around the returned objects and artifacts. Thus, the museum collection

also houses a collection of stories, contributing to the wealth of the Tribes' oral tradition. As the repatriation process becomes one of reclaiming identity, it appears to stimulate recollection that contributes to a tribal archive of cultural memory and history. Oral history is established via the long term repetition of those oral tellings. Through the return and retelling of stories attached to objects, repatriated material reinforces the specific historical and cultural knowledge contained in those stories.

Beyond Museum Walls: Self-Representation or 'Representing Those in the Process of Self-Representation'

In the master plan for Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, there is careful avoidance of the term, "museum." Museums in the past offered a representation that alienated and commodified them as a people, a symbolic history not worth repeating. The term carries with it a system of narratives, images, and attitudes - a symbolic construction - that reflects a particular worldview. In attempting to categorize my discussion as either 'inside' or 'outside' the museum, it becomes apparent that this gesture walks a precarious line. It crosses between inside and outside in such a way as to avoid the distinction. I am left with a series of contradictions, beginning with the sub-title of this section itself. 'Beyond Museum Walls' refers not only to the distance the Umatilla Tribes are actively placing between themselves and urban repositories of aesthetic culture by placing their institute on the reservation, and by avoiding the "museum" label, but also to the public space the Tribes occupy, in an ongoing engagement of their point of view and way of life in a public discourse. While they resist the notions of museum and display, their

interpretive center is still inside a building. There are few dates attached to items in cases and they insist they are not a repository for ancient artifacts. They do display a mold of a mammoth tooth found during construction of the nearby golf course, but do not legitimate it in a western scientific tradition by establishing the exact age or type of this find. The other contradiction in the subtitle has to do with the term 'self-representation'. This is self-explanatory as I am not a tribal member, and cannot speak firsthand. I have encountered challenges such as these as I tried to write about, and thus, represent, those in the process of self-representation.

The history of my own interest in Tamástslikt began with the controversial case involving the ancient human remains known initially to me as "Kennewick Man." The bones were found in the summer of 1996 on the irrigated banks of the Columbia River, the ceded tribal lands of the Confederated Tribes. The Umatilla Tribes immediately became involved in a legal battle over control of the remains, which centered around the interpretation of the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act, or NAGPRA. Testing the terms of NAGPRA, the case brought Native Americans, forensic anthropologists and archaeologists, and a third party, a religious new age Aryan group known as the Asatru Folk Assembly, also claiming "first American" status, to the same courtroom. Each group used the media to present their position on the subject of cultural ownership and indigenous status in the western U.S. This public forum for self-representation eliminated certain power structures inherent in other forms of communication, by substituting new ones that were technologically based.

The area of the southern Columbia Plateau is the homeland to the Cayuse, Umatilla and Walla Walla Tribes, three distinct people melded together over the past 150

years in an imposed alliance of survival. Once numbering more than eight thousand, the confederation now has approximately 2,500 enrolled tribal members. The marketing material on Tamástslikt's website for the permanent exhibit features the quote, "We are a small group of people with a big story to tell" (Tamástslikt 1999). Rightly so, the Oregon Trail story does not take center stage in their historical retelling. Rather, they weave it into a larger picture of their origin story, subsistence life on the Columbia River and Plateau, the arrival of the horse to their homeland, the arrival of explorers Lewis and Clark, expanding trade, the work of religious missionaries, and the Treaty of 1855. The exhibits take as their primary source oral information passed down from generation to generation for an estimated ten thousand years. In addition to the tribal government of over three hundred and fifty employees, they also employ four hundred Indian and non-Indians at their Wildhorse Resort, an enterprise consisting of a casino, 100-room hotel, 100-space RV park, 18-hole golf course – and, just beyond the 18th green, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute.

As one tribal member states, "We exist in two diverse worlds - one of ancient traditions and teachings, one of modern technology and mass information." Quotations such as this one pepper the video-taped presentations within the exhibit, derived from discussions regarding outlooks on cultural survival. The video consultant offered this interpretation, "The tribal community is perceived by the outside in many different ways, but very seldom through the eyes of the people themselves." The use of interactive media also extends this practice by expanding the space for more direct discourse on historical contestation. When pressed as to why the Institute does not critically engage the dominant historical narrative of the frontier and first contact, Tamástlikt's

development officer replied, “After all, we want people to want to come here.” Traditional knowledge is still engaged in as a form of resistance – but it is in a welcoming, non-confrontational form.

My work at Tamástslikt began as part of a team organizing the first of a series of three convocations of tribal elders and Native and non-Native scholars hosted by Tamástslikt and the Confederated Tribes in 2000, 2001, and 2002. My initial fieldwork research centered around these public gatherings which convened on (1) tribal perspectives on the history of Lewis and Clark, to coincide with the bicentennial of the Corps of Discovery which traversed their homeland; (2) a treaty symposium analyzing its language and content to coincide with the 150-year sesquicentennial of the Tribes’ treaty signing; and (3) a language preservation symposium to re-establish Native place names in the ancestral homeland of the Confederated Tribes and joint-use areas of the Tribes’ and their neighbors. These convocations stressed collaboration between anthropologists, historians, and tribes to work together to develop a stronger self-representational presence of the Native perspective in the public sphere, as well as in the academically dominated fields of anthropology, history, and museum representation.

The Confederated Tribes’ oral and written histories on display at the museum detail three bands of people living and trading through periods of peace and strife on the Columbia Plateau, yet their more recent history has also been one of contact with other Native groups and inevitably with Euro-Americans. Contact thus becomes part and parcel of the historical narrative contained in their exhibits and elsewhere, contributing to the shaping of their past and present identity. Their contact stories almost always involve testimonials of trauma, leading to contestations, contradictions and struggles for authority

that have not ceased to this day. Based on exit interviews, I found that visitors exposed to this complex involvement often elicit emotional responses as they directly, indirectly and interactively "bear witness" to the generational historical trauma experienced by the tribes and embedded in the display.

The Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla people have been able to simultaneously change and retain culture due to an adaptability they have been perfecting over time. Negotiating relations with those around them (neighboring tribes along the Columbia River and non-Native settlers to the region) has also guided them in their development of a sympathetic political base. A tribal museum, the surrounding community and the history of Indian-white relations in the area provide just one context for studying repatriation. It is in witnessing daily contact that one can see how these historical traces are circulated in the present.

Crossing Borders: Establishing the Larger Purpose of 'Bringing it Home' – a Figurative and Literal Situated-ness as Part of the Exhibit Purpose

Fig. 2.1 Alyce Johnson of Visitors Services and part of "Dance Troop Generations" explains her fancy dance regalia to a visitor at Tamástslikt Cultural Institute. Photo by the author.

Fig. 2.2 A tour group participates in a friendship circle dance led by "Dance Troop Generations" in Tamástslikt Theater. Photo by the author.

Public interaction occurred on a daily basis at Tamástslikt. Every Monday, the "Queen of the West" steamship cruised up the Columbia River from Portland and docked in the town of Umatilla. The members of the tour group journeyed by bus to the tribal museum. The group of 75 to 100 tourists – mostly over age 65, middle to upper middle income people – dined on a salmon luncheon in the museum theatre. They were then broken up into groups and taken on a guided tour, complete with elder interpretive stations. They returned to the theatre where they enjoyed a live performance of drumming and dancing, with explanations of the performance (from the big drum to regalia to dance styles). The day culminated in a friendship circle dance with the audience, their "Queen of the West" chaperones and the traditional dancers. The Visitor

Services manager's final remark to the departing group was to "please travel back to Oregon safely."

Without denying its status as a capitalist enterprise, the institute serves public and private functions as a community center with public exhibits and programs and a growing research archive. The dichotomized public/private space speaks to the recognition that the colonizer and colonized experienced their encounters in very different ways. Raymond Williams might describe them as separate "structures of feeling" or as "social experiences in solution" (1977: 132). Borderlands theorist José Limon uses Williams to understand how "cultural formations of any kind are never without their disruptions, discontinuities, and internal contradictions" (Limon 1994: 35). We all live in a society where these borders are transgressed constantly, he reminds us, describing this action as "a practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and inter-relating continuity", but one which is very much "in process", and one which is not yet recognized as social, in the sense of "formalized, classified, institutions, and formations"; these, according to Limon, "come later on" (1998: 129). Borderlands theory like Limon's and Gloria Anzaldua's can be useful in understanding the border that exists between the inside and outside of the museum walls. Anzaldua evokes her art in contrast to what she considers the dead western aesthetic of museum display, and uses her energy in part to serve as a mediator for *indigenismo*: "I think we need to allow whites to be our allies. We must share our history with them…they will come to see that they are not helping us but following our lead" (1999: 107). Finally, Doug Foley's warns through his work on the Mesquaki, that a complex "double structuring" of perceptions is produced narratively

between people on opposite sides of a cultural border, where "misrecognition of each other can reinforce ethnic and racial boundaries" (1995: 119).

Foley's warning rings true in a setting that was technologically produced. I observed these forces at play in the representational space being shared for historical interpretation on the internet. The Umatilla Tribes had to contend with the Asatru Folk Assembly in the virtual sphere in the early years of the Kennewick Man debate. The Asatru's presence seemed in part to be of the internet's own making. The Umatilla publicly legitimized themselves and their historical narrative in mission statements on their website, which opened up new avenues for other claims and possible legitimizations. For example, this third party group that initially sought a claim to the Ancient One was contesting established history/pre-history as well, and the Tribes' perspectives stem from the same freedom that historical re-telling allows. Yet while the Asatru used relativism as an opportunity to constitute themselves with a new history, the Tribes, as they tell it, are merely attempting to set the record straight. While new technologies lend themselves to new forms of exploitation and oppression (colonizing our bodies as sites of capital accumulation), they also have utopian uses as new forms of resistance and struggle. There still exists, however, a language bounded by the museum that has a history of colonialism. Can cultural property fall under the same conditions of diaspora as some people do, as they return to the reservation along with their stories and uses? As they travel back from the edge of a colonialist enterprise, the objects acquire a transnationalism of their own, to the extent that the meaning and reception of them is altered via this new circulation.

Changing Hearts and Minds in the Heart of the Space

The initial web page promoting Tamástslikt Cultural Institute appeared a year prior to its 1998 opening (and just a year after the inadvertent unearthing of the Ancient One) and began with the statement, "The history you learned in third grade wasn't written in stone. Ours was" (Tamástslikt 1997). Offering an "entirely new perspective on history," the Umatilla, Cayuse and Walla Walla Tribes' announced their intentions to present and reinterpret westward migration and first contact from their perspective as First Americans (Tamástslikt 1997). For the first time, in their own words and on their own land, they would fully operate and control a tribal venue, created in part to store and exhibit recently repatriated cultural property, such as extensive lithics collections and regalia. Once Tamástslikt opened however, the curators determinedly toned-down the language of the on-line mission statement in favor of a representation with a more inclusive tone. The Tribes' use of this developing medium, along with their management and control of the new cultural center, creates an interpretive space for indigenous belief systems and practices that have a history prior to Anglo-European control of the West. I argue that while the cultural institute creates a living museum that can potentially serve to resist the dioramas and frozen monuments of a romanticized western past, it takes representation a step further. It creates access to a public space where sovereignty is practiced and expressed in a dynamic public discourse, one which moves beyond a traditionally Eurocentric presentation of the indigenous past by moving out of the "museum" building itself, into other types of constructions of the material and theoretical kind.

Proposed by the state of Oregon as a celebration of the sesquicentennial anniversary of the migration of white settlers from the east, four interpretive centers were established in 1998 along the Oregon Trail, which generally moves along Interstate-84 and along the Columbia River, spanning the distance from the western border of Idaho to Portland, Oregon. The Confederated Tribes initially questioned why they would want to build a monument to the most devastating event in their history, but also understood this as an opportunity to present an epic story in contrast to the other three. Tamástslikt Cultural Institute formally opened in the fall of 1998 as an Oregon Trail Interpretive Center, under the condition that the Tribes would have complete control of the facility and the interpretive messages contained therein.

Fig. 2.3 Locations of four Oregon Trail Interpretive Centers. Map by Micah Engum.

It was agreed that the story of the Oregon Trail would be told but would be accomplished in context and told as part of the larger story of the Tribes' life and times on the land. The Oregon Trail portion of the permanent exhibit is relatively small in comparison to the rest of it, and one does not get to that section until approximately two-thirds of the way through the exhibit. By not privileging this aspect of history, the tribal institute manages to avoid becoming what Richard Flores refers to as a "master symbol" to the Oregon Trail historical moment (Flores 2002), something the other three seem to have successfully done for themselves. I look at the rest of these Oregon Trail

Interpretive Centers more closely in chapter 4 in contrast to Tamástslikt, and continue to give a fuller picture of the tribal cultural institute here.

The building is in close proximity to the east to west emigrant migration route yet actual wagon wheel ruts are no longer visible, a phenomenon and spectacle the other Oregon Trail interpretive centers promote. It also maximizes the vistas of the Blue Mountains and the Umatilla River basin with large scale windows on several sides of the structure. A coyote guide, solidly in his role as trickster, is incorporated into a thematic series of interpretive panels which bring the visitor on a temporal journey, through three cavernous and interactive galleries, entitled, 'We Were', 'We Are' and 'We Will Be'. The 'We Were' gallery depicts the subsistence seasonal round lifestyle, denoting the circular foundation of Indian life. One also walks through a winter lodge longhouse with ambient storytelling, a display on the arrival of the horse, a trading fort, a church, a map of western migration hung among scattered Oregon Trail trash such as broken-down wagon parts and trunks, a display explaining the incident at the Whitman Mission and ensuing Cayuse War. One then makes the descent down the Treaty trail pathway, which leads into a life-size replica of the Chemawa Indian boarding and training school in Salem, Oregon. The exhibit then continues through an agency day school and a hall called "the decline of the horse" exploring the reservation diminishment period due to the allotment acts. The visitor then arrives at the "We Are" gallery, a mediascape of the present era of recovery and renewal. Ambient sound and voices throughout, along with historical photographs and contemporary video footage, are combined to create an environment that reaches from the past into the present and ultimately the future.

"We will be" is the most emphatic, albeit the smallest, section of the exhibit. It highlights cultural and political survival as well as the continuation of traditional practices by tribal people in contemporary times through video and photo presentations. Preservation is part of self-representation, which speaks to the importance of cultural survival in this project. Ironically, the institute seems to be embracing technology and capitalism to preserve, in the Tribes' own words, a history that was "written in stone," as the initial website emphasized. They are engaging in history-making in the present, combining structures inside and outside of the museum trope, in a situated knowledge that relies on the power of memory and place.

In an interview with the director of development for the Institute, I was given specifics about the project that add to the above analysis. Contributing to the problematic, I learned, the cultural institute project did not have the same commercial interests as the nearby casino resort. The developers (made up of committees of tribal members as well as outside museum designers) desired more of a public use site, always intending it to be more than a visitor's center. A physical separation between commercial and public interests was desired, so the placement of the golf course between the museum and casino created a physical separation of mood and intended use. And while Tamástslikt's developers resisted the label of "museum", they continued to struggle with the fact that at 65 miles per hour on the highway, "the signs might need it", and they reconsidered the decision. Now all of the billboards and interstate signs include the "museum" label. What can be learned from this exchange is that for practical reasons the act of resistance to avoid replicating the museum trope only partially succeeded.

Fig. 2.4 Billboard for Tamástlikt addresses past representations. Photo by the author.

Self-representation had to include a referential alliance with the notion of museum, exhibit, and display. Luckily, Tamástslikt has succeeded in also becoming much more than simply a museum display, as indicated by the convocations, public programs, publications, and other "projects with purpose" as the institute's director calls them.

The institute's actual relation to the implementation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act is also interesting. Tamástslikt's presence aided in the retrieval of material from the city of Pendleton, objects held in the basement of a city building since the 1930's, but NAGPRA was used simply as a negotiating device, rather than as enacted legislation, one which persuaded the city to give up their collection without a legal fight. NAGPRA came into play for fund raising for the collection as well, as the repatriation movement was gaining in popularity and sentiment. According to the development officer, "they thought it would affect them in bigger, more material ways,

but as yet, it has not," excluding the precedent setting battle over Kennewick Man. Also, there were some debates over whether or not to include dates among the displays. One of the contributing factors was that many of the dates simply remained unverified, and their inclusion was ultimately decided against. Pauline Turner Strong contends that museum labels indicate a complex set of relations among displayed objects, situating them in a "wide range of social, cultural, historical, and material contexts, only some of which are physically present in the display case or exhibit hall" (1997: 42). Labels can index a relationship among objects and people that can often be the result of difficult and uneasy compromises. Taking this into consideration and wondering if this discomfort in labeling was an issue at Tamástslikt, I asked director Bobbie Conner about the lack of labels on artifacts. Attaching exhibit labels and dates to objects, Conner informed me, implies a past without enough of a present connected to that past. The preferred absence of formal labels creates an informal process of cultural reckoning which allows for broader spaces for understanding, for which Tamástslikt can be a catalyst, she explained. She elaborated this way:

> BC: What is it that they say? "Tell me about it and I'll forget. Show me, and I'll remember. Involve me and I'll care about it. I'll understand." So that's really kind of where we're at with this decision, where our own cultural reckoning stands. There's no cultural reckoning in this community. We're just undertaking efforts that will result in that reckoning…So it's not like there's a strategic decision but it happens, and the reason it happens is because people care about it. So a consequence of that, of involvement and people caring, those things get carried forward. And it's not a formal process. We try to formalize things and institutionalize things, but even in that process, it's still fairly informal. But that's the first thing that people say about the exhibits -- that they want the labels bigger and "Where are the dates?" People have this linear relationship with time that makes them say, "Oh, well that's the way they were 150 years ago."

> J: Is the relationship to time and environment important?
>
> B: It's not that we want to have control or that we had control and we lost control. There's always been an element of personal self-governance. You poach or you don't poach. You hunt in season or you don't. You only kill elk when they're not carrying and you don't hunt the bull elk. So there's always been a form of self-governance. What's right and what's wrong. There's always been collective responsibility. How you nurture that collective responsibility that is part of the culture is something that we are challenged with as a tribe. [Karson interview transcript of Roberta Conner, 6/2001]

Strong asserts that labels embody both intended and unintended silences and exclusions. It appears here that the same is true in the absence of them. The intention is to simply exhibit self-representation as one would exhibit acts of self-governance, and not point out that control over the artifacts exists via labeling, but rather to allow for the example in their placement to imply this to be the case. In this case, objects from the past, perhaps from a distant to a less distant past, are not categorized but circulated without imposing a separation between them via labeling of specific objects. It is also important to note that the lack of labels privileges the interpretations provided by Native guides. Demarcating the exhibit into the simpler time frames of 'We Were, We Are and We Will Be' seems to accomplish a continuity from past to present without strict ruptures between them.

Using this example, it appears the Umatilla Tribes live in two worlds where the past and present coexist less as contradicting tensions, but as necessary registers which they move between in the creation of a space of their own choosing. I attempt to follow their lead by pointing out where they maintain this flow. Their historical rootedness is alternative to a dominant Western ideology, yet the Umatilla Tribes are cosmopolitan subjects. They articulate a strategy and politics in their retelling, yet maneuver this resistance within a larger, state-sanctioned project. They move between a public and

private usage of their space, maintain their positions outright, yet choose not to invoke repatriation in relation to the daily workings of the cultural institute. They negotiate their narrative based upon space and place, both operating in tandem to acknowledge what is being served as well as whom they are attempting to serve in the process. They are in control of capitalist accumulation, a control which enacts a process of healing for them as well as for others. This mood of healing is experienced as one passes through the exhibit galleries. A series of tunnels and passageways give a sense that one moves through a story of time, of retrievals and longings, of outrages and wrongdoings, of reconciliation and rejuvenation. The eras unfold as cultural text in multiple forms, whether they be as pages, snapshots, or as storytellings.

As I point to the appearance of contrasting motivations in several instances, I find it difficult to resist explanations which construct them as a list of binaries or a series of crossing dialectics. Possibly, this is an effect of the past being presented and understood in the present to multiple audiences and for multiple purposes. Contradictions serve here as divisions that resist singular narrative conclusions as explanatory models. This notion does not force the choice between two binaries, such as opting for a Turnerian or an anti-Turnerian frontier thesis. The contradictions that inform representation for the Umatilla Tribes create a looser discursive space, where interpretation and understanding allow for new meanings to develop, meanings which are no longer confined by academic binaries. The Tribes accommodate purpose for themselves in their interpretive environments, which are free to grow out of bounds as the clashes and contests remain involved spaces where multiple forms coincide. In practice, the theoretical enterprise is not always

attained, but when they are confined by the physical space, reconciliation of these two registers appears in interesting ways, as the following example demonstrates.

Functional Space

Since October, 2000, I have been engaged in a collaborative effort with the Confederated Tribes as they planned their participation in the Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery commemorative events. I assisted with the creation of a written tribal history surrounding Lewis and Clark and other Euro-American contact. I attended a convocation of scholars and tribal elders which convened at the tribal museum on the subject. To answer my research questions, I participated in several acts and aspects of repatriation undertaken at Tamástslikt. I followed up with the data and perspectives gathered at the convocation by collecting impressions of the event from the elders, scholars and Native American students who participated, and by proofreading and editing the verbatim transcript of the convocation, an event with the intent of collaborating on a useful and more truthful account of tribal history. This first convocation was thought to be a successful event by many who attended. One dissenting voice came from a tribal subsistence fisherman who lives away from the reservation. He made it known on the second day that the scholars had a tendency to engage each other in debating historical information and ignored tribal elders on certain discussion points. Years later, this same tribal member was asked to author a chapter in the tribal history book (Karson 2006), years later, which was a project outcome from that first convocation. He declined in a not too subtle letter stating that there were too many non-Natives participating in the

project and the history book project should be exclusive to Native participation. While this project could have been accomplished with Native participants only, it was the collective decision at Tamástslikt to include scholars in a collaborative fashion. This decision gave many of them who had written about the Tribes years earlier a chance to give back. Some scholars did so by actively turning over copies of their original research to Tamástslikt's archives. Others offered to co-author or assist in the research and review process of the tribally authored history book. But for those three days of the convocation, tribal elders, students, and scholars sat at a large table in the round and exchanged information on a multitude of topics, whether springing from living memory or records or the oral tradition. The grant paying for the event had a directive to focus on traditional knowledge surrounding Lewis and Clark but this was less important than the event taking place and the experiences that would arise from it.

The second convocation took place a year later and a third followed shortly thereafter. The second event was similar to the first but focused on language preservation – in particular, knowledge pertaining to the Native place names still known in the ceded ancestral homelands and joint use areas. The outcome became the preliminary research for the place names and ethnogeographic atlas (forthcoming). The third convocation was labeled a "treaty symposium." Treaty recognition is a priority of the government-to-government era presently being pursued by tribal groups, and the CTUIR actively engaged in treaty recognition by holding the final convocation on the topic and by advocating the establishment of a nationally recognized Treaty Trail through the inland Pacific Northwest region of the Columbia Plateau. Tribal members, CTUIR staff (which was a mixture of tribal, other Native, and non-Native professionals mostly in the arenas

of law and policy or natural and cultural resources management) and outside treaty scholars attended. One of the more interesting aspects arising from the symposium was the detailed analysis of the "council talk" itself available from the transcript of the 1855 treaty council proceedings. There was much discussion and debate as to the original philosophy of the treaty signers, and the large part that the Native view of *tamánwit* (loosely translated as Indian Law) played in the negotiations. It too became the basis for further research developed for the history book. It was also recorded and may the basis for more projects in the future.

In all three convocations, a process of reconciliation was evident. There were dissenting voices and those who shunned attending the convocations, and still others who simply observed but did not participate. To be precise, Tamástslikt controlled the list of participants as these were not widely open forums made public to the entire general council of the Tribes. The hope was to have a fair and general representation of interested tribal members and scholars participate, defined as those who already condoned Tamástslikt's goals and mission as an institute. In this regard, the convocations involved much reconciliation among the studied and the studiers, but it was also incomplete as a whole.

A Bargaining Tool

> …since we have provided this report to the city, and they clearly, and I think we've clearly proven the fact that, yes, we know what we're doing, we have a facility now to house those artifacts, so actually, the ball is in their court now…

> So in the process of cleaning the things, we did find a couple items that will be repatriated. There was a couple of bones that we had to sign the paperwork on, that we had to photograph, just for the city so they would have it in their records of what they're giving back to the Cultural Committee to repatriate [Karson interview transcript of Marjorie Waheneka, 6/2001].

Like Tamástslikt's exhibits manager above, those directly involved have informed me that the Vert collection was garnered more by persuasion and less by enforcement of repatriation legislation. The goal was to affect hearts and minds and appeal to the public or other institutions to donate or return cultural materials related to the Tribes. Tamástslikt itself - as conceived, realized and practiced – establishes the importance of tribal museums to reservation life, renewal, and economic development and diversification. By instituting culture at Tamástslikt, equalizing effects have occurred, including transfers of power, voice and authority. That equalizing effect is then circulated and passed back to the public sphere. The impetus for a study of this type is the process of repatriation that is ongoing on many tribal lands, as it is for CTUIR. However, NAGPRA is still being case tested and the legislation ten to fifteen years hence has evolved into action, reaction, structural change and finally attitudinal changes. My focus lies in these changes in social thought and interaction, in so far as they may be deemed as effects of new forms of repatriation. If one studies how the past, present and future function and interact at the cultural institute for the Tribes and for others, one sees this exchange playing itself out in fuller force.

Revisiting Representation and the Tribal 'Self'

My theoretical approach to repatriation first centered on the objects and worked into the literature surrounding the return of cultural material. From an archaeological stance, the literature surrounding the implementation of NAGPRA is plentiful and provides the working definition of the discourse. Secondly, I found it important to engage with what Julie Cruikshank refers to as the "social life" surrounding the objects, as stories about them are told and retold (Cruikshank 1998). I began to contend that, like humans, the objects were moving, migrating, and returning under diasporic and other conditions of return and exchange. Due to a spiritual value system similar to animism, one that holds for the Confederated Tribes that elements from nature are ancestral, repatriated cultural property are simultaneously living cultural symbols. The idea of treating objects as if they are endowed with life is not unique to these Tribes. Consider this similar explanation from James Clifford of the coppers, masks, and rattles on display at U'mista: "In the dark big-house room, spotlights illuminate the regalia. The smell of wood is pervasive. Massive cedar beams and posts support a high ceiling. The objects on display are bolted to iron stands on raised platforms against the walls – which is where, at an actual potluck, the audience would sit" (Clifford 1997: 134). It is further remarked that sometimes it seems as if the artifacts are watching the visitors as they pass by or enter the big-house room.

Arjun Appadurai would perhaps call these repatriated objects commodities in cultural perspective, in that they are things that exist in context of their social lives as well. Breaking from a production-dominated Marxian view of commodity and focusing instead on its total trajectory, Appadurai says we can approach commodities as things in a

certain situation. Defined this way, perhaps this can be seen as the commodity phase in the social life of a thing: "I propose that the commodity situation in the social life of any "thing" be defined as the situation in which its exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant factor" (Appadurai 1986: 13). Representation has much to do with the consumption of display, and the politics of self-representation are powerfully aligned with this fact, in so far as the consumption of the developed and produced tribal perspective is intended to result in shifts in larger overall perspectives of a once dominant paradigm.

Pauline Turner Strong's recent essay, "Representational Practices," speaks to the relationship between representation and commodification, which is due in part, she says, to the process of Othering that took place when European explorers "discovered" Native Americans (Strong 2004). The use of the concept of representation now speaks to relationships of power and signification, in so far as it now involves social relation and social practice, which allows people to ask the question of who controls it, for example. Strong cites the critique of Peter Whitely, who "deeply implicates anthropological research, teaching, and display practices in the process of appropriation and comodification" (Strong 2004: 348). Strong goes on to say that Whitely's collaborative anthropology might be useful in "dismantling what a colonialist anthropology has wrought" (2004: 348). Whether or not anthropology is primarily to blame for sustained misrepresentations of Native peoples of North America, the practice that can be laid at anthropology's doorstep is that of initially walking away with many of the objects and artifacts that are now considered Native cultural property. When those objects and

artifacts return, the social and political act of self-representational practice can and does occur.

I believe that I too engage in an ethnography of representational practices that Strong advocates in that I explore the power relations that occur in the shift from representation to self-representation, investigating how the people, objects and narratives intertwine. My fieldnotes demonstrate specificity in curating procedures surrounding those representational living cultural symbols. The contaminated items repatriated in the Vert collection are a product of farm chemicals being sprayed on these ancestral objects en masse and stored in a static state for decades, away from human contact. By contrast with their former curatorial treatment, these pieces were held and handled by tribal members, each piece carefully cleaned and headdress feathers blown straight like delicately brushing the hair from a young child's eyes.

> Today I attempted to gingerly stuff moccasins with white tissue paper to reclaim their form. C discovered a pair of beaded soled moccasins. I had not seen any like these before. He turned them over to discover that they had been walked on and many of the beads on the soles were crushed or missing. C said they were possibly grave-robbed or stolen because they were meant to be worn in death and buried with the person, never to be walked upon in this life. Later, I found a 1920's-era photograph of Major Lee Moorhouse, a BIA agent and amateur photographer, wearing a similar pair and C verified them as one and the same. He explained that perhaps Moorhouse was given them as a gift in trade, possibly as payment for his photography, but that they would be an inappropriate gift from an Indian. It seemed more likely that they came from a non-Indian in a trade or gift situation, one of possibly dubious origins or ties. C, A and I went to Blue Hawk Beads afterwards, the popular bead shop in town. They are known there, even celebrity-like, C for his beadwork, and A as his multi-talented apprentice nephew [Karson fieldnotes 2/2001].

Figs. 2.5 & 2.6 Storage facilities housing Vert collection prior to repatriation to Tamástslikt. Photo courtesy Tamástslikt Cultural Institute.

This selectivity is useful for the purposes of repatriated cultural material, which makes it possible to understand these objects of repatriation as contaminated, in a variety of ways, both literally and figuratively and how they may be selective as well. Alexandra Harmon claims Indians never escape the negotiated relationship with non-Indians, suggesting Indian identity flows between these contact boundaries (1998). This notion may further explain ways in which identities are constituted for Native groups in the U.S. In *Indians in the Making*, Harmon writes, "Descendants of (pre-contact) Indians are inextricably tangled in the cultural, economic, and racial threads of a social fabric designed by non-Indians. When those descendants nonetheless claim a distinct, enduring Indian identity, they raise intriguing historical questions" (1998: 2). Essentially, Harmon is invoking the question: outside of a racial, cultural identity, are assimilated Indians still Indian? In their fight to recover, preserve, and sustain their Indian-ness, they can sometimes appear even more so as they choose to respond to assimilation forces in their reassertion of Indian identity. If a slow and evolving syncretism newly complicates a

"pure" form of Native American repatriation, this complex association also encourages the arrangement of selective identities ("He's my brother but I don't claim him" is a common phrase on the reservation, depicting choices in kinship). Blood quantum and enrollment rules create the backdrop to much of this selective identification (Strong and Van Winkle 1996; Strong and Kapchan 1999), yet other social factors such as where one was raised and ongoing family discrepancies or partialisms contribute to the case.

From Romantic to 'Real' -- A Personal Journey

> "Were you plannin' on moving here or somethin'?"
>
> The Director of Development for Tamástslikt, John Chess asked me that over the phone today. I've already been in Pendleton for four days and have secured impermanent lodging at the Travelodge with my 14-year-old Labrador Retriever mix, Kyla. The question made me nervous. I stammered that I didn't know but I was hoping to spend the semester up here at least if it was all right with them – to participate and observe, to conduct fieldwork. He didn't seem to know what I was talking about. It was all in the letters (didn't he get the letters?) – the formal communication which began the previous summer in order to secure access. I went into the museum later to meet with him face to face. I told him I might travel around after the conference and visit other museums/interpretive centers. He seemed more pleased with that information, perhaps less threatened by my pending presence and expectations. I'm officially a "volunteer" for the Plateau scholars' conference, whatever this entails. We'll talk after the conference about me staying on in some fashion, I guess. He then introduced me to Susan Sheoships, the Education Director at the museum. He put me to work assisting her. I'm supposed to make the "tepee centerpieces" for the conference. My first official task for the Tribes! She has to find the materials in her office (Styrofoam cone, material, starch glue, little sticks and paint) but doesn't know where to look. Standing around the Xerox machine, I asked her if I could sit in on her 2:00 Nez Perce language class. I'm now a student of Nez Perce language. I quickly learned that "sitting in" isn't really an option. Susan was more of a moderator, taping the class from one end of the room. Three elders taught the class. Mainly a man named Eugene John, who works as a greenskeeper at the golf course and is hard of hearing. You have to speak loudly to ask a question or he ignores you entirely. He often defers to Gordon, a large, round man with short grey braids,

> approximately 4 inches in length. Gene's hair is short and cropped and both men wear glasses. Gene has Gordon confirm his memory for things and vice versa. Joanne Burnside, the third elder language teacher, came in later. There was much smiling and eye contact with me. This was rare up to this point. Susan was demure and avoided eye contact and John Chess seemed mostly nervous. Their teaching style is mostly without a style. It's relaxed and conversational, some might say scattered and repetitive when it comes back around to the written curriculum, but was mostly warm and unauthoritative, like spending time with grandparents on a rainy afternoon, which it was, foggy and rainy. Tamástslikt seemed separated from the rest of the world, far far away. We had to repeat words in Nez Perce. I had to too. Reminder: get stuff for tepee centerpieces [Karson fieldnotes, 10/2000].

These fieldnotes suggest that the early field experience was initially disconcerting but that I soon became a welcome and useful presence in small ways. My hope is that my research will be pertinent to and congruent with the research goals of the tribal museum even though our functions are different. In this way, perhaps I return to the role of advocacy anthropologist that Field (1999) and Foley (1999) discuss as a departure from applied and action anthropology. Collaborative ethnography entails making a choice to embrace collaborative action as well (Lassiter 2005). My research will always be accessible to the Tribes for their use, although it will remain partial, yet honest accounts from my perspective that are not sugar-coated. They have established self-representation of their cultural and historical information yet they value collaboration as well. My doctoral project began a collaborative relationship that promised to extend beyond my research stay and take different forms in an ongoing and evolving dialogue and partnership. This interview excerpt with TCI's development officer shows a reconciliation with collaborative practice so long as the Tribes are in charge:

Jennifer Karson: Considering how repatriation overlaps with the time spent on this project (TCI) to get it up and running, have attitudes changed and has the repatriation movement to date affected not only tribes but the impressions of the outside with whom the Tribes come into contact?

John Chess: …Tribes want however they're presented and studied to be done by themselves. They're, you know, sick and tired of other people studying them and presenting them. 'Cuz it always comes out wrong.

JK: So underlying what repatriation is, it is not just about giving things back?

JC: I don't think so, I mean, it's Indians saying hey you know, we don't want you taking our bones and studying them anymore. We'll decide what's appropriate to deal with them. It's not your call. It's ours.

… the tribes say, well, we're tired of you guys studying us and then writing books about us. You know, we'll do our own studies, we'll write our own books, we'll prepare our own materials, we'll do our own presentations, we don't need non-indians running around on the lecture circuit telling people what we are.

JK: It's really interesting because I agree with that – everything you just said – yet wait a minute, I'm still a non-indian, still here, still doing work.

JC: Well, I do the same thing all the time. I'm gonna go down the road and do it right now. You just have to be fairly conservative in the assertions that you make. … it's a general statement. It's not like all of a sudden you just cut it off. It's more of a philosophy than a hard and fast rule. And the people Indians trust to talk about them generally don't go into great detail about tribal philosophies and that sort of thing.

JK: You mean cultural knowledge?

JC: Yea, and it's pretty darn difficult to say what is the tribal philosophy. People always ask that – well what do the tribes think? They think a hundred different things. They're like any town. What does Pendleton think? It's all over the map. I guess, in a general statement, the tribes aren't so proud that they're not gonna take advantage of opportunities that come their way to further their own interests. And if you happen to be that, then great.

JK: So even though there is a resistance to being a museum due to the negative museum legacy, down the road we had to put the word museum on our sign.

JC: There's always a little reconciliation between your ideals and what you have to do [Karson interview transcript of John Chess, 4/2001).

Ironically, these are the statements of a non-Indian staff person after having worked for the Tribes for many years. The message I garnered from this discussion was to be collaborative, a useful presence in an advocacy role for the Tribes, and that in terms of cultural knowledge, it was not my place to broadly disseminate it.

The role of the anthropologist is changing to meet new standards of representation. In discerning these levels of representation, complications persist. Les Field (2004) laments that his own situated standpoint complicates both his ability and his authority to represent Native standpoints. Collaborations between Native and non-Native on projects of representation/self-representation, he says, "accept as premise that there never is a single Native voice or perspective, but that sovereign Indian tribes using anthropological tools to pursue particular goals have created a very different environment for non-Native anthropologists working in Indian Country" (Field 2004: 474). If my research enables me to fulfill the role of a collaborative and useful anthropologist for the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, in return, I will impart this process to the academic community in hopes of recasting the anthropologist as one who fulfills the role of cultural worker without overtaking those in the process of self-representation. Rather than being concerned with what is still unknown about, say, the Plateau as an "understudied" culture region, anthropologists working in and around tribal museums in Indian country today might best incorporate what is known by anthropologists and tribal communities, while continuously acknowledging and reflecting on the ethical practices of how that knowledge was gained in the past. In this sense, anthropologists need not be cast as the enemy but more so as partners in an emergent future for Tribes and for the field of anthropology (Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997).

The Myth of Return

The conditions of exile that create hope and belief of a return to the homeland or place of origin is historically tied to the existence of the state of Israel. Central to Jewish identity, employment of the term went from a mythic dream of return for the wandering Jew into a concrete immigration proposal of the final return of all Jews to Israel (Schusterman 1997: 188). "The myth of return should be reinterpreted in the more flexible spirit of postmodernity" (1997: 181).

The concept of the myth of return is more recently situated in the field of refugee and migration studies. Scholarship in this area references the notion to explain and highlight the failure of intended return migration (Castles and Miller 1998). The term harbors the return ideology and remains critical in structuring the attitudes inherent in people who stay away longer than intended, seemingly forever caught in a status of transnationalism. I maintain that repatriated objects are also affected by processes of globalization. A literal form of repatriation would constitute a return to the fatherland. As diaspora studies informs, the return migration is made more complex by the politics of memory. This complexity makes the literal and figurative form of return incomplete, creating a myth of any true or authentic return to a previous state or being.

Many milestones have been reached in the repatriation efforts of Native American communities since NAGPRA's passage in 1990. Like distant relatives or refugees, displaced cultural property has undergone a diasporic return to ancestral homelands as museums and institutions return culturally affiliated material and human remains to designated tribes for

storage, usage, or reburial. One unfortunate result of repatriation's success is that the Tribes now face a new dilemma to the process of repatriation – the crisis of contaminated cultural property returns. Many of the objects are being determined to be contaminated with pesticide residues from the preservation techniques of past museum curatorial procedures. A myth of return is present as well in that the objects have been forever altered in their absence from home. These contaminated returns present a religious and health crisis for tribal groups as they not only face the challenge of cleansing the items spiritually but physically as well. With the advent of tribal museums, repatriation for many Native North Americans also incorporates the coming home of memory, history, and cultural practice beyond the tangible return of the material. The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation are now facing the challenge of contaminated collections in their tribal museum. Added to this mix is the potential health risk now accompanying their own sacred goods.

The Trauma of it All

The Vert collection, named for a prominent city official, was the largest, most comprehensive outside repatriation to the Tribes' of cultural material to date, and would constitute much of Tamástslikt's museum holdings. It was also a community effort, in that the transfer of goods was a story about the city of Pendleton, Oregon's relationship with the local Indian population itself. Rather than the items being in an unknown vault or distant location, they had been close by, in the center of town, under the Confederated Tribes' nose but just outside of their jurisdiction, without their own authority or control for many generations. The transfer of this cultural property would say much for the

transfers of power from the local non-Native to the Native community, playing counter to a legacy engrained in this predominantly white community that "managed" the Native tribes in the area for so long. For the purposes of this discussion, I describe the process of repatriation that occurred that spring when just months later, I, along with other museum staff, would learn that this acquisition was a toxic one and had possibly physically effected us as well in the process of its coming home. Suddenly, the notion of collective and generational trauma I had begun to develop experientially as a theoretical underpinning of the repatriation movement took a more visibly tangible and life-threatening turn.

> J and C went to the museum in town to inspect a forthcoming large donation. J opened a cabinet drawer in a dark corner of a storage room and pulled out a scalp. As he later explained, it startled and unnerved him. He immediately washed his hands in rose water to cleanse himself. He was still very unsettled by the experience when he relayed it back to us at Tamástslikt later that day [Karson fieldnotes, 12, 2000].

Through interaction, one is led to understand and bear witness to generational trauma as it manifests in historical interpretation (see Caruth 1995, 1996; Duran, Duran and Brave Heart 1997). Trauma processes are embedded in the repatriation experience such as this one, then circulate among the public through a conflation of private and public representations – comings and goings – with constant reminders of the legacy of contact, as these fieldnotes suggest:

> Thursday, I went to the City of Pendleton museum and worked with C and M on the incoming pieces from a private collection dating back to the turn of the 20th century. The weaving and beadwork they handled stirred memories of their grandmother, as the objects sparked conversation in a historical context. C commented on the baskets as we cleaned them but did not address me directly

> unless to instruct me or answer a question. Many were of the Plateau style but others simply "were not from here," was his common answer – a subtle distancing from an explicit expertise, even if known, about places other than his own homeland. I was slow to understand an implicit cultural knowledge that I was not to handle certain objects for cleaning. Only men handled feather headdresses and ceremonial pieces of regalia used by men [Karson fieldnotes, 2/2001].

The intimate relationship these tribal members have to the objects being cared for involve a personal density of local and unique meanings and memories, and a reinvented historical relationship to some of the objects determined as "not from here." This implies that a local connection creates an ongoing significance, one which was wounded for the duration that these objects were out of tribal hands and tribal contact. This analysis is also reminiscent of James Clifford's critique of the U'mista Cultural Centre which he claims "aspires to a kind of majority status" within a dispersed yet emerging tribal unity (1997: 141). Clifford warns that a wealth of complexity is hidden behind words such as "local," tribal," and "community." It is too easy to speak about these things as if they were not often contested or interpreted differently, pointing to "a vital diversity within a shared culture and history" (Clifford 1997: 144).

The significance of the local may therefore not always be so easily recognizable. The experience Clifford has with postcards he encounters at the U'mista gift shop is a case in point. Recognizing an Edward Curtis image, he initially thinks the tribe was reproducing the common native stereotype found in the iconic photos, but in reading the caption, he discovers the image was interpreted very differently by presenting the subject as a known family member and ancestor. "What the image communicates here may be quite different from the exoticism and pathos registered by an audience of strangers"

(1997: 127). In those images, names are known and details are exchanged in an atmosphere of the local, whether that local is accessible to others or not.

Trauma is often experienced at a distance, inter-generationally, and can pervade as memory intersects with history in a very personal manner. Traumatic memory, says Cathy Caruth, even if not ours directly, is felt as collective memory, as if it were at home within us (Caruth 1996). At Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, tribal member J's testimonial of his first experience with the new collection and my bearing witness to this testimony provided a setting for a transfer of feeling of insidious trauma to take place, bound up in history, identity and ideology.

> We were to dust off these pieces, vacuum them, put foam forms in the woven or beaded flat bags or tissue paper molds in the moccasins. We were then to replace them in the freshly windexed glass cabinets. A or R photographed the objects and entered them into the Past-Perfect software back at Tamástslikt for archiving. This was the last day of the extension. M had to write her report to show to the city. That week, as we completed our work there, rose water was on hand in a spray bottle and C burnt sage in an abalone shell around the large, but hidden away, display/storage room. We sprayed our hands in the hallway after exiting the room for the last time [Karson fieldnotes, 2/2001].

The physical job discussed above consisted of not only cleaning but re-inventorying and writing up the objects with "better knowledge." The process was to show and provide proof that the Tribes' would be better stewards than the previous caretakers had been. Some of the tags were written by hand in the 1940's with profoundly misinformed labeling and many objects had not been cleaned since then either. The dust and dinge was thick and fans blew constantly while we worked. We also wore gloves as much as possible. I do not recall that we ever wore masks.

> Tamástslikt's Development Officer, JC, gave me the low-down on the Vert collection and the process of its return to the Tribes. He discussed this with me in my first interview with him in August of 1999 in response to my questions about the tribal museum's direct involvement with repatriation cases. He told me then that NAGPRA was not legally enforced by the Tribes in cases like the Vert but used more as a bargaining chip, not quite a veiled threat, but more of a negotiating device [Karson fieldnotes, 2/2001].

Conditions of Return

As they travel back from the edge of the colonialist enterprise of collecting, Native American cultural objects pass through a decolonizing imaginary and acquire a transnationalism of their own, to the extent that the meaning and reception of them is altered via this new circulation (Perez 1999). Historically, objects from distant cultures mesmerized museum patrons in metropoles of the west, lending new meaning to these objects via their displaced circulation. Repatriation movements underway in many locations throughout the world are witnessing the return of these objects to culturally affiliated groups and locations, yet the return is often as mythic as it is incomplete.

Similar to the myth of return, whereby a pure diasporic journey is bound up in political and historical entanglements, repatriated cultural property takes on a globalism of its own due to the politics surrounding its return to the local (Hall 1997). The Umatilla, WallaWalla, Cayuse currently experience this new global understanding of cultural relations, and are retelling their history, enacted out of the "regimes of representation" within which they, as the colonized Other, were, for so long, constituted (Hall 1997).

Diasporas share certain common assumptions, ideologies and imagination around homeland which generally leads to the myth of return to the country of origin.

This myth often manifests in a strong sense of collective memory related to the distant homeland present in diaspora populations. It is tied to a nostalgia of homeland and the desire to return to the mother country, an event which rarely materializes. Susan Pattie asks if the myth of return is "a sustaining dream or a practical, if distant reality" (2005: 64). In the theoretical development in the field of migration studies, the trope is being reconceptualized in many applications in that the desire to return is not necessarily a natural given.

James Clifford questions what is at stake at the political and intellectual level in modern evocations of the term "diaspora," suggesting it is a loose term undergoing modification as it is translated and adopted by cultural groups (Clifford 1997). Meanings and signs have a relational identity, but rather than simply remaining binary, they are generative and thus capable of creating new categories. These different results only begin to shed light on the contemporary task at hand – to define and enhance the term and its usage so as to accommodate flows of people, and in the this case, cultural property, in multiple directions and for a multitude of reasons. Like people, the migration of cultural material can also undergo a form of diaspora and return (Clifford 1997, Barkan 1998). A North American Native diaspora of objects and artifacts, therefore, has culminated in this return to place, even if a myth of return also exists simultaneously.

Chapter 3: Claiming History I – Lewis and Clark

Repatriation of a Different Kind

This chapter asks how culture is employed in public argumentation in an institutional and/or semi-institutional format. The three convocations held at the institute on history, the interpretation of the treaty, and linguistic knowledge resulted in verbatim transcripts which were then incorporated into a tribally produced historical narrative (Karson 2006). The result was the development of the tribal interpretive plan to coincide with the commemoration of Lewis and Clark's Corp of Discovery passing through the tribal homeland. The creation of a tribal perspective began most notably in the convocations, which could be seen as a fruitful socio-political step for the Tribes, in that the intention was for the discourse to be brought home in order for the Tribes to become equal, if not controlling, partners in that discourse. The creation of a tribal perspective was anchored on a larger historical event in which Native peoples were bit players in the official retellings of the past: that of the epic American journey of Lewis and Clark.[5] By claiming history from a front-line, first-person perspective, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation hoped to create a fuller understanding of their history in the larger context of one American saga.

Other aspects of claiming history within and beyond museum walls included the repatriation of visual representations. Visual images became intellectual and cultural

property for the Tribes in so far as they contained cultural information. A shared and collaborative framework evolved around the images so that historical photography could serve as a useful tool connecting past and present for the Tribes. Representations of Natives in film was also addressed, and a reclamation process took place as Tamástslikt sponsored a film festival and symposium to discuss those representations. The event centered around two western genre films that were shot on the reservation in the 1950's with the direct participation of many tribal members. Their memories and opinions were recorded as a short documentary and shown as part of the festival. In the discussion of representation and appropriation, it is interesting to note that the local borrowing of the tribal name of Cayuse by a local winery in the neighboring town of Walla Walla (which lies within the ceded homelands) did not get much notice beyond the quiet discussion of using the name among tribal people. When I questioned this, I was always told that "there are bigger fish to fry." This became clear to me as I assisted in projects such as the collectively written CTUIR tribal history book and Sahaptian Native place names atlas.

A Plateau Before Borders

The boundaries of the Columbia River Plateau have to do with landscapes and language (the Salish and Sahaptian language families), not lines. These landscapes reach from the Great Basin to the south to the Subarctic to the north, from the eastern slope of the Cascade Range to the west towards the Rocky Mountain range to the east. Many territorial realignments are still argued over today, including which "ethnic

[5] This is ironic in that Sacagawea was much more than a bit player herself in the epic journey.

environments" or "culture areas" should be included in the Plateau (Sturtevant 1998). Indeed, some question whether the Plateau is properly definable as a culture area, which is itself a debatable concept. The lines have been redrawn multiple times over the years, but the peoples have remained without much movement (Walker, Jr. 1998). Change has swirled around them and while it has affected them at many levels, most of this change has been introduced and initially imposed, such as economic impositions with the establishment of the fur trade, or proactively obtained from the outside, such as alterations in mobility and wealth status due to the incorporation of the horse. Mapping and remapping of the Plateau over the last century and more has shown the area to be not a fixed "culture area" but rather a region fluidly changing over time as influences between and among peoples and cultures come and go.

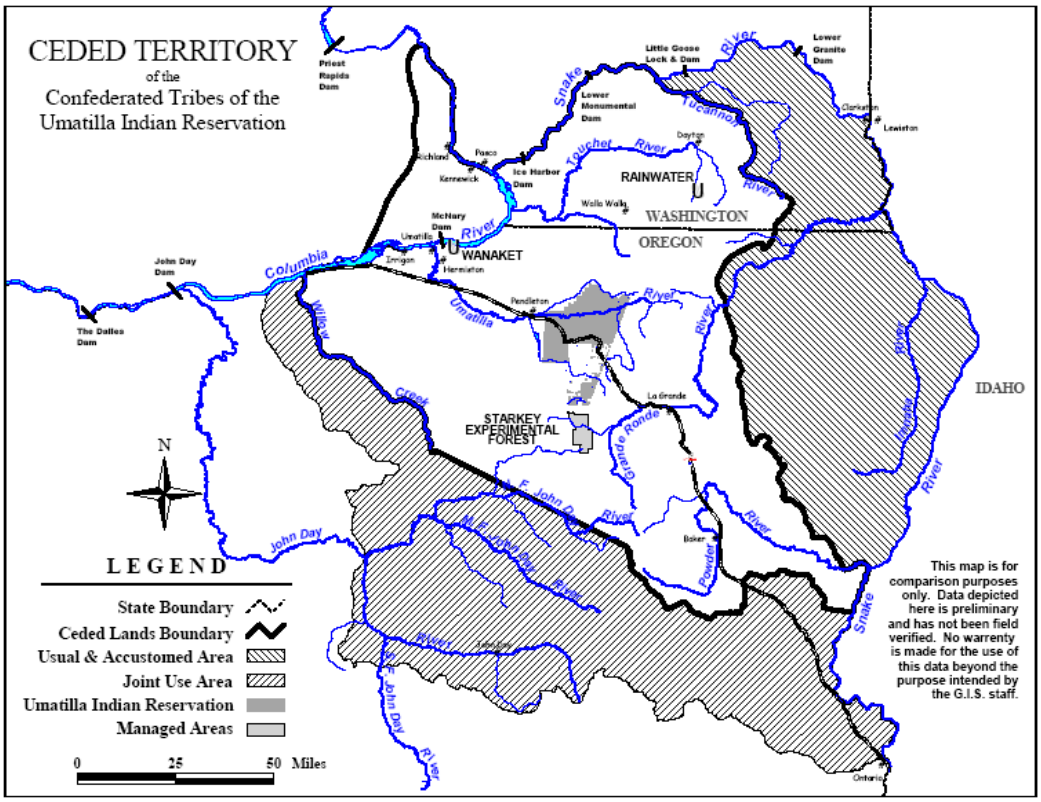

Fig. 3.1 Map of Ceded Lands of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation. Map courtesy CTUIR GIS Program.

The location of the Plateau seemed to hold elements of a borderland region before there were borders. Today, the Plateau crosses state and national borders, from the United States and Canada and across the states of California, Oregon, Washington and Idaho. If there is any real change from "pre-history" to "history" (this delineation in and of itself a historical construction of time and space), it is the borders that created the nation-state. Daphne Berdahl (1999) claims that cultural boundaries should not be confused with boundedness. Border zones, when tied to a place, are more of a

declaration of identity, of an insider-outsider dynamic, that is less concerned with spatial dimensions (Berdahl 1999). Some scholars characterize the Plateau in precisely these terms, in so far as pre-contact subsistence, cross-tribal influences and exchanges were occurring on the Plateau long before borders were established or whites arrived. An intricate system of delineated tasks was unique to the cultural area and may have something to do with Plateau peoples' continued ability to merge with each other or live side by side with other cultures in relative harmony today.

Ethnographic research conducted by Verne F. Ray in the 1930's characterized the Plateau cultures as having pacifistic tendencies and being mostly victims of aggression, not aggressors (Ray 1936, 1939). "As Kroeber was to California, Verne Ray was to the Plateau," read his obituary in American Anthropologist (2005, v.107; p.180-182). Angelo Anastasio (1972) conceptualized the concept of the "task group" as a way to understand the rapidly changing structure of Plateau social and political organization. The task group system was described as the social relations between closely related bands (or families) that allowed them to create communities of shared subsistence. Another social relation existed between the resources of the earth and the people themselves, in which economic productivity was only part of the goal. There was a spiritual efficiency involved as well: "At its heart, this system was designed to maintain proper social relations among all the entities on the Plateau, human, nonhuman, and superhuman. These social relations provided the substance of life and gave an identity to everything in the Plateau world" (Miller 1985: 18). As products of the earth just like people, therefore, the commodities were also part of the task group system and very real members of the social community. Both of these scholarly contributions stand as basic ecological and

political studies on the Plateau. Yet, the most concise ethnography of the three peoples is that of anthropologist Theodore Stern, whose fieldwork from 1953 through 1968 resulted in two volumes of ethnohistorical research documenting the trade era, containing perspectives derived closely and directly from the families he interacted with on the Umatilla Indian Reservation (Stern 1956, 1993, 1996). Moreover, the genealogical information he compiled then for research purposes is of great value to tribal members today in piecing together their familial lines of descent.

At the microcultural level, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla) also exhibit cross-cultural cooperation and blending. The pervasive intermarriage characteristic of the Columbia River Tribes created villages with composite populations, for example, one with Yakamas, Umatillas, and Walla Wallas and another with Yakamas, Umatilla, and western Columbia River Sahaptians (Ray 1936, 1938 et al). While the practice of different peoples coming together to engage in a common venture is tied to the task group system (as in the case of shared fishing locations), these hybrid conditions are also expressive of the permeable character of ethnic boundaries and an extensive network of reciprocity. While affinal links, alliances, and distributions were prevalent, in referring to population groups as "tribes," Theodore Stern warns that, "the term must not be taken to connote a political centralization, since that condition did not emerge until nearly the middle of the nineteenth century and under White pressure" (1998: 396). Rather, it should be taken as a replacement term for bands or extended families living and moving through a subsistence seasonal round in the same general region.

Among Columbia River Plateau groups, while hostilities were not unknown, reciprocity and generosity characterized interpersonal relationships. In her text on the largest collection of Native arts on the Columbia Plateau, Susan Harless writes:

> Trading partners, often living hundreds of miles apart, provided each other with access to goods and credit. Marriage established exchange relationships among members of extended families; these were maintained for the duration of the marriage and often beyond. Transitional events were recognized as occasions for a family to give gifts to relatives, neighbors, and friends. In Plateau cultures, acts of giving maintained relationships; goods were acquired to be given away. To a large extent, this tradition continues today [Harless 1998: xv].

Today, communal reciprocal gift-giving, or giveaways, take place at the tribal longhouse. They are symbolic events that are pronounced, witnessed, and thereby "accepted" in a formal sense by the community. A naming ceremony is an example of a transitional event, in that a person can be given more than one name in a lifetime as that person evolves. Indian personal names therefore had a different role than English given names do. One's name often functioned like a title. Most often, it belonged to an ancestor and was given to honor the previous bearer and to promise that the new bearer deserved the honor and would perhaps increase it. A newer traditional form since contact is the naming of non-Natives in the tribal longhouse. Non-Indians who are known in the community can be given a name as well as a way to establish some permanence and legitimacy around this person's presence, as well as to acknowledge their acceptance as a member of the community. Such namings are usually sponsored by a family and they prepare for the event for several months to a year, gathering and making goods for their giveaway, having the name chosen for them, and preparing the narrative about the name. A person can be named after a descendant or an original name may be produced, one that

fits the persons' character in the eyes of the naming family. There is some contention surrounding contemporary practices of naming in that some families prefer to carry on traditions as they had always been practiced while others do not hesitate to allow the practice to evolve (such as giving names to opposite genders or names for non-Natives (Kan 2001; Moore 2005). There is even contestation surrounding exactly how the traditional practice occurred and families are often at odds over its interpretation.

Another major catalyst for transformation of early culture on the Plateau was horse pastoralism. Introduced by the Northern Shoshone through trade with southwestern groups who received them via the Spanish explorers, an equestrian mode of life on the Plateau allowed for seasonal travel for hunting buffalo and expanded trade with Northern California tribes to the south. Some groups took part in those expeditions while others maintained a riverine orientation, with salmon consisting of the dominant form of subsistence. Those who favored fishing supplemented their resources using the horse in seasonal hunts. Because the horse created new chances for heightened mobilization, influences from more distant tribes created the environment for change. The changes arising from exposure to Plains influence were transmitted in turn to Western neighbors, and it was at Celilo Falls, near the present-day location of The Dalles, Oregon, that Northwest Coast and Plains cultures met directly (Ray 1939) in a trade network system. Known as *Wayám* to many Columbia River tribes and later as Celilo or Celilo Falls with the introduction of English and trade jargon (Rigsby et al. 1998), this centralized trade location remained in place for thousands of years until the removal of the falls and the construction of the Dalles Dam on the Columbia River in 1957. Thus, many tribes in the

middle regions, including those connected with the Umatilla, served as mediators among and between the more disparate groups at this important location.

The Assimilation Game

Regardless of the friendly relationships among many of the tribes, there were still as many differences as similarities between them. The Cayuse, for example, pre-eminent traders on the eastern side of the Plateau, much like the Chinook to the west, institutionalized slaveholding, which was less practiced by other groups in the Eastern Plateau (Garth 1964). The Cayuse also resisted agricultural pastoralism imposed upon them by the missionary, Marcus Whitman, in favor of their steadfast foraging relationship with the land -- hunting, fishing, digging, and gathering – and moving across the land according to the seasonal migration round. The Walla Walla (and the Umatilla to an extent) were generally more accepting of the fort system and the fur trade – due, in part, to the proximity of Fort Nez Perces to their own villages on the Columbia River (Stern 1996). Regardless of the general themes running through the ethnographic and ethnohistorical record of the Plateau, these themes were by no means universal. The contact with Whites was therefore met with a variety of responses. The overarching initial response was one of cautious acceptance, even as contact began to set up an insidious relationship of colonialism.

When speaking of universals, there is a contradiction to be pointed out here. I am asserting that the general themes running through the Plateau were by no means universal. However, the repatriation movement is operating on a basis of understanding

that is universal in nature, in that cultures have a universal relationship with their artifacts. In other words, proponents of repatriation may be trying to create these universals now in order to serve their purpose and mission. What is perhaps truer is that repatriation universally responds to the colonialist relationship that affected all Native groups in various ways since the time of contact.

Well versed in exchange with various internal and external groups, members of Columbia Plateau tribes seemed ideal to act as guides and interpreters at the time of contact with Euro-Americans. Crisscrossing travels of trappers and traders around the Plateau region pre-dated the explorations of Lewis and Clark. These earliest visitors brought with them a colonial discourse in their perceptions and images of Native people. According to Elizabeth Vibert, they carried cultural notions with them of a civilized way of life, proper economies, and appropriate social and gender roles: "These assumptions formed a kind of coordinating grid in the travelers' encounters with Native people" (1997: xii). The traders believed the Native people were lazy for relying on fishing more than hunting, which is curious since hunting peoples were eventually castigated for not being farmers. Because the main records of cultural encounters are one-sided narratives from a hundred years ago, it is difficult to retain an accurate picture of all people and events, but the preconceptions of mainly British fur traders were powerful enough, says Vibert, that Native lifeways were overtaken by the relentless energy of the colonizers own ways and discourse (1997).

In conversations with some tribal members, I have encountered a mixture of responses to the coming of European influences due to contact. Some see the colonialist process as the beginning of the end for their particular culture due to the forces of

assimilation that took place. Others point to acts of resistance against colonialization that took place whereby lifeways, religion and language were not wholly defeated, but survived in some capacity due to the resilience of the ancestors facing great change.

One influential Plateau scholar viewed contact more in terms of interaction and interrelatedness than defeat. Anthropologist Theodore Stern wrote extensively on the trading practices of the Hudson Bay Company and Northwest Company of the early 19th century, most notably at Fort Nez Perces (later renamed Fort Walla Walla) trading post (1993, 1996). He viewed the relationship between fur companies and tribes within the trading district as complex and dynamic. Interrelationships within Fort Nez Perces, for instance, revealed that the Company was attempting to keep Indians at as near a pristine condition as possible: "The Company - particularly the seasoned officers in the field - maintained that the 'wild tribes' upon whom they depended to bring in the peltries should be preserved as closely as possibly in their Native state" (Stern 1996: 31). To do so, however, it was necessary for the Company to institute policies to keep them "Native." One could also argue that Europeans made a significant distinction between fishing and hunting peoples because the latter were of more use to them. Encouraging them to trap beaver, the Company recognized them annually in a "clothing of chiefs" (1996: 42). They were employed at the fort as servants, working as horseherds, messengers, builders or wood gatherers. Other Indians disengaged themselves from this interaction, becoming traders in the field, and enjoyed respect for bravery and initiative. But Stern maintains that more important skills were being learned by Plateau Indians that were preparing them for further interactions with Whites. At this small post, then, was found hints of a microcosm for future relations.

Assimilation towards European gentry classes could also be seen as an act of resistance. Dandyism was a particularly prevalent character model for many Plateau Indians at the time of contact (Moore 1999). By the time Lewis and Clark arrived, they already found somewhat acculturated individuals among the Native peoples. Due in part to the preexisting network of transcultural trade and exchange, the adaptation for many was smooth and gradual at this cultural contact zone. Chinook jargon was the translatable mediating language crossing between diverse cultures and languages, most notably at trading locations like Celilo Falls. In many accounts, attitudes towards dandyism was "a study of European anxiety in the face of such exquisitely attired 'others' (Moore 1999: 7)." A complex, mutual assimilation process is one of the founding tenets of theories involving hybridity (Strong and Kapchan 1999); in line with this, much of this change on the Plateau was convergent, affecting both sides of contact, although not equally, due to differential power relations. For example, the Plateau Indian prophecy movement was so strongly accepted because it created a combined reciprocal interaction between Native religious belief and the missionaries of the nineteenth century (Miller 1985). Extending a concept of Marshall Sahlins**,** Pauline Turner Strong's notion of convergent practices involves the "conjuncture of distinct cultural categories" of socially situated, thereby empowered and interested groups, who uniquely structure relations among them (Strong 1992: 43). If it is so that this opposition involves a subtle identification between two disparate groups, then it stands to reason that some anxiety and hostility was also residing between them.

Resistance and Renewal

Contradictions in the face of change were ongoing on the Plateau. Assimilation stemming from the missionary period onward was slow, gradual, and incomplete. It was often met with a mixture of resistance and acceptance. Stories told to me during fieldwork involved tales of tribal members running away from boarding schools, families hiding their children so they would not be taken to the schools, individuals continuing to practice their Indian religion even while being under the influence of the Catholic and Protestant missions, and families continuing seasonal subsistence activities after harvest time. Missionizing was a source of inspiration and salvation as well as a source of pain and domination over the struggle for the Indian soul. Jacqueline Peterson speaks of this in her accounts of Father De Smet among tribal groups in the western U.S. Believing suffering was part of the journey to survival and salvation, De Smet was a complex figure who epitomized these contradictions (Peterson 1993). While he did not advocate for or against full-blown acculturation and assimilation, he still attempted to missionize as many Native Americans as he could. He convinced many to move onto reservations, assuring them that it was the only way to prevent extinction. De Smet acknowledged the presence of entwined Christian and Native beliefs, yet he symbolized the conflict that many Natives and whites held towards each other as "sovereignty" became more than just a treaty language term and a bonified struggle to be realized by tribes (Peterson 1993).

The reservation era, beginning for the Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Cayuse people with the signing of the 1855 Treaty, brings back the theme of changing boundaries. Reservation boundaries undermined the ability of tribal members to access their seasonal

migration routes. Not only was land interspersed, but people became so as well. Tribal numbers diminished due to poverty, disease and violence to the point where some, such as the Cayuse, began to systematically marry out with the Nez Perce to ward off extinction as a population isolate. Again, interaction and the sharing of resources between tribes was the key to their survival. The three groups voluntarily moved on to the same reservation due to the Treaty negotiations, and after avoiding efforts towards their termination, a byproduct of this move would eventually solidify their population and ensure cultural continuity. Material culture practices that outwardly show this continuity such as weaving and beadwork adornment continues to this day, informally passed down by families as well as through organized mentorship programs (Schlick 1994).

The 20th century in Plateau history witnessed a slow yet aggressive effort to break the promises the treaty intended to hold for tribes. The reservation boundaries on the Plateau were altered so many times that eventually what was commonly created was "the checkerboard effect", a scattering of designated tribal lands on and off the reservation that were interspersed with non-tribal lands (Lahren 1998). The after effects of the Slater and Dawes Allotment Acts of 1881 and 1885 on the Umatilla Reservation resulted in continued land diminishment and selling off of what was deemed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to be "surplus" land. The remaining allotments were further fractionalized as heads of families left pieces of their land to their heirs and subsequent generations did the same. The CTUIR fought off termination and, under the Indian Reorganization Act, formed a modern government and constitution in 1949. This event transformed a headman or chieftainship society into a General Council and Board of Trustees based on elections. In the 1960's, an Indian Claims Commission settlement was fought for and a

settlement was procured by the Confederated Tribes with a payout to the general tribal membership. The next decade would see the launching of programs to consolidate tribal lands and better conditions on the reservation in the form of housing and an Indian Health Service Clinic. This era was also a time for political risks as the defense of treaty fishing rights became central to the Tribes' natural and cultural resource development goals (Stern 1998).

The solution from the 1970's to now has been the ability of many groups in the Plateau to evolve to a place where they could work within a system of limited sovereignty (Strong and Van Winkle 1993) and renew what was lost in the transition. Resurgence, revival, and political savvy have all characterized the Columbia River Plateau tribes in the last generation. The historical saga surrounding the Umatilla River demonstrates all three. The Columbia River and its tributaries have suffered under the Hanford Nuclear reservation, the construction of dams by the Bonneville Power Administration and the syphoning off of free flowing water by agricultural irrigation. The Umatilla River, which traditionally teemed with anadromous fish, had run dry by 1930 and was void of migrating salmon. Through combined efforts over the last fifteen years - mostly between the Confederated Tribes and local irrigators, but also involving the Columbia River Intertribal Fish Commission and the Department of Fish and Wildlife - the Tribes have reintroduced salmon runs to the Columbia River tributaries and the Umatilla River (Karson 2006). The CTUIR has also gained moderate economic success through gaming tourism since the mid-1990's. The politics of representation operates in public spaces at casinos, visitor centers, and at Indian resorts (Karp and Lavine 1991), but the effort to manage change while maintaining a traditional identity on the Plateau is also

in play, due in part to the theme of cooperation that has long been a part of the cultural experience there. Repatriation movements have sped up the process of cultural perpetuation by inserting preservation, self-representation and larger institutional cooperation that reconfigures Indian-white relations on the Plateau.

Developing a Tribal Perspective

From a representational point of view, what also emerges from this resurgence, revival, and the political savvy that the Tribes demonstrate is that they appear to cultivate purpose for themselves in their interpretive environments. These interpretations are free to grow out of bounds as the clashes and contests circulate in involved spaces where multiple forms coincide. In practice, their theoretical enterprise is not always attained, but reconciliation often appears in interesting ways. The convocation experience became a reconciliation process between Native and non-Native scholars. The first convocation was a summit meeting between anthropologists and historians who have observed and written about the Tribes in the past (who are getting older) and tribal elders (who are also aging), not to argue over contestations in history, culture and interpretation but, as one tribal spokesperson put it, “simply to compare notes.” In many respects, it was a meeting of the minds between what I term ‘elderly scholars’ and ‘scholarly elders’. However defined, it is still remembered fondly by those present. Introductions on the first day were made by each scholar and tribal elder, and the scholars followed suit after elders gave their family lineage and life stories in their introductions.

The experience was reminiscent of that of anthropologist Julie Cruikshank, who took an applied anthropological role by mediating between traditional knowledge holders and those involved in scientific inquiry in the Yukon on the subject of global warming and glacial melting. While those meetings were for the betterment of environmental knowledge and sustainability, the CTUIR's goal was to formulate a common historical and cultural narrative for one commemorative event in particular. Lewis and Clark's Corp of Discovery was to be observed on the 200-year anniversary beginning in 2004 through 2006. As the trail of Lewis and Clark ran through ancestral homelands, the Tribes seized the opportunity to detail the contexts of this contact from their point of view.

Claiming History Through Negotiated Contact (of the Past) in the Present

TCI curator Marjorie Waheneka discussed how repatriation often comes in the form of a negotiated return, often worked out through public discourse. She served as a National Park Service guide for many years at the Whitman Mission, at the precise locale of an event commonly known as "the Whitman massacre." In narrating this story over and over to the public, she discovered that the common designation for the event always placed blame on the Indians involved. She began to explain the event in terms of an "incident" instead, which allowed for multiple interpretations and contextualizations of the event to be incorporated into the retelling. "The Whitman massacre" is a term that creates history from a particular perspective. What informs my interpretation here is Richard Flores' study of the Alamo as a site of cultural memory and how the site operates

as a master symbol in the overall retelling of history at the site (Flores 2002). An "official" Alamo story cultivated by the Daughters of the American Republic (who curate the site) focuses on the heroism of the American soldiers, leading people to collectively understand the site as a place where American pride and patriotism can be placed. This occurrence is at odds with a wealth of historical material that has been omitted, whether forgotten or silenced. A more complete and accurate telling of the event would include the fact that the event culminated in a battle that was a slaughter and defeat of the Americans at the Alamo and was in actuality a victory for Mexico, as well as the participation of Mexicans on both sides of the battle. Perhaps a negotiated retelling of this event would include a fuller contextualization that would allow the Alamo to still function as a symbol for American nationalism but through a more complex understanding of the events that took place there. This appears to be the case at the Whitman Mission, which now gives fuller detail in its interpretive tours and public information, neither heroizing the missionary Marcus Whitman, nor vilifying the Cayuse people who killed his party, but attempting to allow the public to come to their own conclusions. While it does not glorify itself as an outpost of Manifest Destiny outright, the Whitman Mission still operates as a master symbol by being situated at this historic preservation site.

Tamástslikt, just forty miles to the south, also takes on the story of the Whitman and Cayuse incident, in order to privilege their voice in the retelling. The event is explained in the exhibit via the introduction of disease by the missionaries and Whitman's inability as a medical doctor to cure the ailing Cayuse while successfully curing the Oregon Trail emigrants. Furthermore, it is explained that according to tribal

culture, the community and family of the deceased had a right to take the life of the medicine man if he failed to cure the sick. This contextualization clearly privileges the Native voice in this retelling, omitting the fact that Whitman was able to heal the emigrants as they were not immune to the medicines, and Tamástslikt does not acknowledge any imbalance in the interpretation.

Marjorie's role is one she says she was meant for and was groomed for by her elders: the "taking care of the things." She says, "I'm here with my people now, but outreach is good too." She was able to interpret a living versus a reified history with her corrections at the Whitman Mission. However, she moved from a marginalized role at the Whitman Mission site to a permanent centralized place of her own at Tamástslikt as exhibits manager, by returning to work for her own people. In her words:

> We were given this chance to build this place and one of the things we said was, "We want to tell OUR story." I think I enjoyed just sitting and listening. We've got a lot of history and we've also got a lot of personal feelings involved because there was a real concern about what we were gonna tell, what kind of story and how much detail. What kind of information should we give them just a taste of. We had a lot of lively discussion. We came to realize, yes we have different teachings, we have different stories, but when we think about it, they all kind of come back into the circle. You know kind of like the hub of the wheel. We're just like the spokes. We go out, we have different stories, and I think a lot of them just, like with tribal interpretation, if you pass it on things aren't really translated, you know maybe they add something to it. You can't stop the change. And so gradually, maybe it's just something that simple, but still the stories really are the same but it really depended on the people that they heard it from [Karson interview transcript of Marjorie Waheneka, 5/2001].

Marjorie relates how stories evolve and are used and interpreted for various purposes. Her words re-emphasize that studies of the global are often situated in the local. This tribal museum represents a return to the local as people as well as art and

artifacts have come home to work and serve. They are infused with a traveled interaction with the outside world, i.e., carrying traces of the global back to the local. The local is then reinterpreted for the global – in the form of visitors to the museum, for example, or readers of tribal publications. Yet upon their return they also infuse the global with the local. By outside world, I not only refer to external reaches beyond the borders of their reservation but to influences, strategies, negotiations and interests practiced, learned, and co-mingled with other socio-political forces beyond their immediate community and boundaries.

Remembering 'Lewis and Clark': Mediating Social Memory in Reclaiming the Past

Collection and production can also lead to recollection and reproduction which create visual economies as social memory. Images may engender modes of recollection as much as they may be determined by them. There are some possible cultural forms and images that may shape modes of remembering. A remembered and documented history existed before Lewis and Clark arrived, in the form of petroglyphs and pictographs, for example. Time balls were also employed to maintain the historical record. Made and kept by woman, a time ball was often woven of hair and twine, with knots and other items tied into it corresponding to important events over the years. It created a diary of her life (and often of the tribe) and was buried with her at death (Harless 1998). Considering these material markers of collective memory, what kind of collective images might they engender among the Confederated Tribes? If this can be answered, one must

engage how the act of remembering occurs. This process is part of what it means to assert that memory is mediated and socially constructed.

Whether choosing to commemorate, and thereby publicly and officially remember, or to ignore the bicentennial of the journey of the Corps of Discovery through Native homelands, Tribes along the Lewis and Clark Trail are in the process of mediating the return of the past in various forms. For the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, whose ancestors interacted with the Corps near the confluence of the Snake and Columbia rivers, choosing to participate in 'Lewis and Clark' tourism related events at their tribal museum embodies both a reluctance and an urgency to become involved. By commissioning the "Lewis and Clark in our Homeland" gallery guide (Karson and Conner 2004), the Tribes engage the historical narrative of Lewis' and Clark's journals and create a contemporary verbal and visual dialogue with the two captains' version of events. A confluence of meanings occurs so that more is at play than just a public presentation of self. Ideas of culture are negotiated to meet certain agendas in this public venue. Reconstruction of social memory is meant to constitute a tribal perspective of the Lewis and Clark story that the Tribes can live with and then share with others. Also involved are the dynamics, politics, and agendas of the context of the museum exhibit space in which these dialogues take place. The context of public presentation thus becomes a venue for strategic displays and representations of culture that visitors are invited to witness and play out at this outpost along the Lewis and Clark Trail.

While tribal museums and cultural centers were widely established in the last decade in large part due to repatriation legislation that created a need for tribes to store

and display returned cultural property, other tribes, such as the CTUIR use their museum for ends in addition to usage, storage and display. As an extension of the repatriation movement, the written accounts of the historical legacies which led up to that repatriation movement are being analyzed and developed. Through this space and the public gatherings conducted therein, the Confederated Tribes institute culture, claim history and undergo change in a socially political and open manner, yet one which they manage and control. Authority over the narrative takes hold in a newly established context, one which shifts the paradigm to a new dominant, inside the public venue of the tribal museum or cultural center, now comfortably situated on sovereign Indian lands.

In part, this is accomplished through the strategic use of oral history, memory and place, in bearing witness, and in editing and placement. This might be problematic, given that many of these oral histories do not refer directly to the Corps of Discovery but rather to the arrival of non-Indians in general. In fact, attempts to collect oral histories that mentioned the two captains and could be directly tied to their visit yielded vague results. Collective memory directly related to Lewis and Clark was scarce. There were some stories about the peace and friendship medals handed out by the captains to local headmen and new research scholarship by Ronald Pond (2005), a tribal elder and then doctoral student present at the convocation has uncovered more. However, no one could claim to be a direct descendant from 'Yellepit' (the headman of the Walla Wallas according to the journals) despite attempts to find relative's stories. It became clear that the tribal perspective on Lewis and Clark through oral history alone could not be scripted or fit into a neat package that could then be turned into cultural, educational, or tourism products.

Instead, elders at the convocation spoke of many things that were in their hearts, and might be seen as straying off topic by conventional standards. Scholars had to be slightly admonished not to argue strictly amongst themselves and once that happened, the stories from the elders were better heard and appreciated. Does the act of bearing witness to these testimonials of the elders create a passing down or sharing of social memory to create something new? Visual imagery and tangible objects take it up a level from oral history, raising the stakes. The visual image is interesting in the production and reproduction of trauma via direct stimulation. In the act of documenting historical memory surrounding the Lewis and Clark saga and developing or reconstructing a public "tribal perspective" collaboratively with tribal members, I often wondered if the opportunity for a reorientation of the two sides of the same event was taking place in the process. What new comes of it all, if anything, in the social act of telling and retelling, or is it just straight reification of a political sort?

I preface this with the tension that underlies this reality: Lewis and Clark and their Corps traveled through the homeland for two weeks, two hundred years ago, and not much collective memory survives. Since some oral histories can be traced back ten thousand years, such as those which represent events like the Missoula Floods, the assumption is that the Corps of Discovery did not make a large impression on the people they encountered. Rather, Lewis and Clark stand for a larger trauma that is remembered and coupled with other stories of incursion. As to the historical truth behind Lewis and Clark's journey, questions remain. Who knows what Sacagawea really thought of the captains and the journey they were on, or her husband Toussaint Charbonneau, the French trapper turned chef and part-time translator for the expedition? Who knows if the

characterizations and understandings of the Native people in the journals were correct. As Bobbie Conner explains, “When you read the journals, one of the things that’s really fascinating is that people had mis-perceptions, they had misconceptions. For what little is known by non-Indians about pre-contact besides what is anthropological and archaeological, we know that the oral histories survived” [Karson interview transcript of Bobbie Conner, 7/2001].

Mediating social memory therefore took place at these convocations and a collective remembering was the result of this mediation. All of the participants were asked what should be done with the knowledge circulated at these convocations and the popular sentiment was to use or reproduce the information for educational purposes. The notion of “projects with purpose” coined by Director Conner would cultivate tribal perspectives based in large part on the information gathered at the convocations. It was then that many educational and potentially profitable projects began to take root, one of which was an interpretive handbook retelling the Lewis and Clark historical event from a tribal perspective.

The Lewis and Clark Gallery Guide

The 200 year bicentennial anniversary of the journey by Captains Lewis and Clark and their Corps of Discovery marks a moment, a-three year moment, if you will, for those involved in commemorative events or observing those events taking place along the historical trail between 2003 and 2006. From a post-colonial standpoint, a look back to the very beginnings of a colonialist enterprise put forth by Jefferson through his

directives to Lewis and Clark, Jefferson was only keeping pace colonialists in Europe and elsewhere. What do you do with history? The journals, the original source, are first-person accounts, mulled over by countless historians, performed and re-enacted in folksy detail over the years numerous times. The last decade has seen more serious analysis done, for example, by James Ronda (2002), by Sally McBeth (1998) on the different identity claims on Sacagawea. The story has also garnered the attention of famed documentarian Ken Burns (2005).

And then there are the Tribes themselves with whom the Corps came into contact. Some "trail tribes," as they are called – such as the Mandan – have cooperated with the bicentennial. A selection of tribal leaders form the Circle of Tribal Advisors and a few women with Mandan and Shoshone heritage claim hereditary kinship with Sacagawea and the right to perform her at events. Other tribal groups along the trail, such as the Chinook people ancestrally located at the mouth of the Columbia River, are angered by the planned "celebrations" and reject participation outright. And still others, such as the Umatilla Tribes, are participating with as pro-active a political stance as they can muster without alienating too many observers or potentially losing out on potential tourism windfalls for Native homelands still located along or near the historic Trail. Public Service Announcements ask people to tread lightly through Native lands as they follow the trail during the '03 and '06 period. Despite such concerns, the level of discourse has been raised: symposiums on traditional law and custom, or on treaty law vis-à-vis Lewis and Clark are being held at colleges (notably at Lewis and Clark College) and historical societies in the region. Also, this time around (as opposed to two hundred years ago), tribal involvement means Tribes becoming equal partners in the process, allowing for the

telling and retelling of historical events to also from a tribal perspective. Yet while this notion seems intuitively correct on its face, the processes of social construction going on within each tribe (or maybe even between tribes) are contested and varied. Further discussion of this uncovers some of the potential tensions (variable in terms of tribal identity or generational identity within tribes) between specific Native American histories and the broader American history.

The myth of the American West is more at play too. M. Scott Momaday, who was asked to give a keynote speech at one recent symposium entitled "Encounters" had this to say: "If this were just history with the facts, it would be ugly, like that of the true history of the west." Is any heightened discussion rubbing off on the visiting public or the Lewis and Clark hobbyists (called "Lewis and Clarkies")? Is it influencing enthusiasts full of romanticized notions of Indians frozen in time in the western past? Are local Lewis and Clark Heritage Day events falling back on what they know best, i.e., representating the past in a local setting via good old-fashioned stereotyping?

From the case study of projects at Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, all of the above is true and at play, suggesting it is not easy to reinvent representations of historical icons such as Lewis and Clark. Tribal initiatives such as the Homeland Heritage Corridor map are simple in form and successful. It has been widely distributed and accomplishes the simple task of showing Native place names on a map alongside established Euro-American ones without much accuracy, context or interpretation. The accompanying audio driving tour features edited and narrated oral history excerpts of the homeland along the Lewis and Clark Trail. But public events at Tamástslikt such as "Dogs, Drums and Directions" were not as well promoted nor attended. Those events along with pie

socials and dramas that included dressed up versions of Sacagawea or Captain Clark came off as campy (by my account) and not all that different from the representational forms of Lewis and Clark that most are familiar with at this point. The message came together more subtly – and perhaps more effectively – in the gallery guide. Focusing on petroglyphs and pictographs as forms of recording and documenting history before the art of writing was meant to counter the journals of Lewis and Clark as being the first recorded history of the region. The simple lesson that history did not start with Lewis and Clark and with the act of the written account is a challenge to impress upon others. Merging prehistory with history to erase that boundary is the goal. The "Lewis and Clark in our Homeland" gallery guide stresses cultural continuity, with the repeated theme of "We have always been here and we are still here" (2004). The message is an important one considering the amount of ignorance that still exists regarding contemporary Native people. "Where are all the teepees?" is a favorite among the frequently asked questions (FAQ's) at the front desk. Another is "Can I take your picture so I can prove to my grandchildren that there are still Indians?" TCI asks the visitor to reconcile the past with the present.

The gallery guide is meant to be almost an afterthought in the Tribes' permanent culture and history exhibit – which, as one of four Oregon Trail Interpretive Centers, officially fits the Oregon Trail migration into the overall picture about two-thirds of the way through the exhibit and by no means privileges it as do the others. As it is not primarily an Oregon Trail exhibit, neither is it a Lewis and Clark exhibit, but rather a tribal homeland exhibit with the rich story of Lewis and Clark included. To tell the Lewis and Clark story dotted amidst the larger exhibit of the Tribes' story switches roles

– making Lewis and Clark bit players in a story of the region's history, "since time immemorial." Even though their arrival marked what would become significant change – considered by some, the beginning of the end – they are given secondary roles rather than the other way around.

Petroglyphs and other artifacts constitute material ways of remembering. This point should be foregrounded in any discussion on the furthering of traditional knowledge through memory. When the act of remembering is based upon contingent circumstances, however, memory is socially constructed and these are always socially charged political circumstances. For the Tribes, describing the tale of Lewis and Clark as an historical event imposed on them is a politically charged act. Their retelling allows non-Indians to rethink this history. It is less important what is actually remembered by families, elders at the convocations or in follow-up oral history interviews. There is no effort to disprove the standard history as much as there is an effort to add to it another perspective, that of the Tribes themselves.

The Lewis and Clark Bicentennial represents a potential opportunity for the tribes as a "framing moment" with the power to lay claim upon the national consciousness. It is within this moment that specific tribes can present themselves and their history in a way they wish the nation to see them and feel about them. Any such mode of self-representation must be actively constructed by the social actors involved. Yet such modes of self-representation are not without internal complications, which also result in halting, or contested portrayals, cleaved by different voices and perspectives from within.

Fig. 3.3..Amy Mossett (Mandan-Hidatsa), member of the Circle of Tribal Advisors on Lewis and Clark, plays the role of Sacagawea during the bicentennial commemoration. Photo courtesy Roberta Conner.

Even so, the circumstances and cultural politics are such that there is a need for Native input in the United States as it relates to the commemorative period of the Lewis and Clark journey. Native Americans are taking a lead role in this interpretation and collaboration is one tool being used to get them there. The elders and anthropologists' summit meeting (Convocation 2000) constituted the beginning of new relations between the studier and the studied. The event allowed tribal members to institutionally reclaim intellectual property, mine it and use it. The final decree from the Tribes was to "write our own history" and the event acted to shift anthropology's positioning towards an applied mission.

A commemorative event like the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial evoked a range of responses among the descendants of the tribes that the Corps of Discovery encountered, both within and among tribes. While there is some significant differences between tribes

in terms of their willingness to engage in the commemoration to tell their story, there are not only hegemonic relations between the dominant society and subaltern groups—but within subaltern groups—which lead to a complex positioning of voices.

While this commemoration provides an opportunity to shift the paradigm of colonizer/colonized to a new one in which Native peoples assume authority to represent their side of the Lewis and Clark story, there is some contradiction inherent in this scenario. Calling for a multi-vocal or multi-layered narrative of the Corps of Discovery story seems natural and it began in the collaboration that occurred between anthropologists, historians, and tribal members as part of the original three-day convocation at Tamástslikt Cultural Institute. Scholars not only shared their insights and research with the group but offered to make this research available to the Confederated Tribes for future use. A form of repatriation is found in the return of this knowledge back to the Tribes, a knowledge that was, in part, gathered from them or their ancestors to begin with. This may also be seen in relation to my own positioning. I arrived at Tamástslikt to assist in the organization of these convocations and any projects that resulted from them, such as the Lewis and Clark gallery guide. All of these actions are potentially very relevant to the issue of shifting the paradigm noted above.

Commemorative moments are used as a hook for disseminating the tribal perspective, on Lewis and Clark's journey for instance. It is also a useful source for grant funding, which make Tamástslikt's purposeful projects all the more realizable. If the relationship between identity and memory is historical, then it can be traced through commemoration. John Gillis informs us that identity and memory are connected in that they are often constructed and subjective terms that have lost their historical context

through overuse and application. They do not exist, Gillis writes, "beyond our politics, our social relations, and our histories…Ordinary people felt the past to be so much a part of their present that they perceived no urgent need to record, objectify, and preserve it" (1994: 6). A powerful reason to commemorate, he says, is to save both individual and collective recollections form oblivion: "Commemorative activity is by definition social and political, for it involves the coordination of individual and group memories, whose results may appear consensual when they are in fact the product of processes of intense contest, struggle, and, in some instances annihilation" (Gillis 1994**:** 12, 5). Instituting culture as well as history is the goal since cultures must have their own history just as much as they must have their own identity. Commemorating for the Tribes is therefore an act of instituting their culture. It reinforces and reifies, and thereby brings home the message for themselves as well for others.

Other forces are at play in addition to the relations between studier and studied. For instance, what kinds of interactions are taking place between those who are re-tracing the Corps of Discovery expedition and the tribes who were contacted by Lewis and Clark? It is natural to assume—as the gallery guide puts it—that "Lewis and Clark noted everything they saw but did not see all that there was" and that "To pass through is not to know" (Conner and Karson 2004). These statements also propose connective ties between the stranger and the tourist. Lewis and Clark were strangers in their time and those who were commemorating and retracing the journey between 2003 and 2006 across Native homelands held the status of tourist. The Umatilla Tribes wish to show that they were welcoming in both cases. In tying present to past, the Louis and Clark tourism

encounter today evokes the specter of that earlier moment of contact two hundred years prior.

Creating and Controlling the Historical and Cultural Narrative

Figs. 3.5 & 3.6 Banners from traveling exhibit accompanying debut of "Lewis and Clark In Our Homeland" Gallery Guide on the 200 year anniversary of the Corps of Discovery's stay on the ancestral ceded lands of the Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Cayuse people. Photo by the author.

Since the first convocation, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute has been involved in a variety of Lewis and Clark Bicentennial commemoration planning efforts on the local, regional and national levels. From these conferences, a variety of information directly and indirectly related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition emerged. Elders shared stories

they heard while growing up about first contact with non-Indians, including Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery. That kind of information was combined with a study of the journals and secondary materials. The main question we were attempting to answer was "How did our people view the Corps of Discovery, what is the basis for those views, and what factors led our ancestors to view the Corps as they did?" The following block quotes are examples of early drafts and initial research material which led to the Lewis and Clark in Our Homeland Gallery Guide, a collaborative project between Tamástslikt director Bobbie Conner, Tamástslikt Education Coordinator, Susan Sheoships, and myself.

> Since the introduction of the horse in our area (1600's), people in our tribes traveled over the Rocky Mountains to hunt buffalo. It is likely that some of these hunters interacted with white people, or at least heard about them from Great Plains tribes. Oral histories from our Tribes indicate that there were prophecies circulating prior to first non-Indian contact. These prophecies foretold of the white people that would come in immense numbers… so the overwhelming point here is that our ancestors knew about white people, and they knew that they would be coming some day…
>
> The Snake and Columbia Rivers were densely populated in many areas, and Lewis and Clark document many villages along the rivers and on its islands. The tribes in this area had their own laws which existed before European laws and which permeated all aspects of daily life and determined behavior. Natural resources were plentiful and people knew to never take all of one thing; fishers would allow plenty of salmon to pass by so that people up river would have enough. This is important because Lewis and Clark were merely passing through (and quickly in our homeland) and what they describe or try to record, they often did not fully understand…
>
> Tribes in this area were interconnected and lived among one another. In addition to people known today as Cayuse, Umatilla and Walla Walla, there were Palouse, Nez Perce, Yakama, Wanapam and other Tribal people living in this area. Lewis and Clark noted hearing at least three distinct languages at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia on Oct. 16, but there were probably many more. They had difficulty differentiating between different tribes and understanding their interconnectedness. This is important because, in some cases, Lewis and Clark's

errors or misunderstandings had lasting implications: from information we have amassed, it does not seem that the word "Walla Walla" was used by us to describe our people. "Wallulapam" is what the people Lewis and Clark write as "the wollah wollahs" called themselves, yet it is the misnomer that survives most prevalently today…

The whole notion of cultural misunderstanding is, traditionally, often not overwhelmingly addressed in Lewis and Clark interpretation. On April 24, Lewis writes "the natives had tantalized us with an exchange of horses for our canoes in the first instance, but when they found that we had made our arrangements to travel by land they would give us nothing for them I determined to cut them in pieces sooner than leave them on those terms. Drewyer struck one of the canoes…they discovered us determined on this subject and offered us several strands of beads for each…" There is obvious irritation by now on the part of the Corps, frustration at not being able to obtain the horses they need. But the Corps had traveled this entire area, having just come from Celilo, where the population was greater than that of St. Louis at the time, and a major trading hub in the northwest. People in this area were savvy traders. They also had notions of personal property and civil law that differed from non-Indians; justifications as to why the Indians did not offer anything to the Corps for their canoes can be made (the Corps no longer had any use for them, why should they trade for these canoes that must be left behind anyway?, etc.) But the point here is not to justify or try to elucidate the Indians' behavior, but to illuminate how sometimes extreme, illogical or inappropriate the behavior of the Expedition must have, on occasion like this one, seemed to the people in these lands…

The other most important aspect of how we viewed the Corps involves trade. On the morning of April 29, after camping among a particular Walla Walla village for a few days, a man Lewis and Clark call "Yellept" presents Clark with an "elegant white horse." In our area, this is often the story relayed in various histories and tourism materials, and the interpretations can make the Tribes appear as simple, hospitable, gifting Indians lacking complexities or motivations on par with the Expedition. This man the journals record as "Yellept" (from 'yelépt' meaning "trading partner" or "brother" in the Nez Perce language, the Nez Perce "guides" accompanying the Expedition may have been calling this man by a title, or an honorific, rather than an actual name) wanted to establish a trade relationship. Thirteen years after Lewis and Clark passed through this area, Fort Nez Perces, the first permanent non-Indian settlement in CTUIR territory and a trading post, is established. Eighteen years after that, Marcus Whitman establishes the first mission in Cayuse, Umatilla, Walla Walla lands at the site of a Cayuse village, Weíiletpu. A decade later, the massive migrations on the Oregon Trail were continuing to build and nine years later, in 1855, the Cayuse, Umatilla and Walla Walla formally ceded over 6.4 million acres of their homeland to the United States government [Research material for Lewis and Clark Gallery Guide].

These early drafts of the Lewis and Clark Gallery Guide show a direct engagement with the journals of Lewis and Clark. The narrative is fashioned as a debate that pushes the historical deconstruction into a realm of correcting the assumptions and misapprehensions that took place two hundred years earlier. In doing so, a connection occurs that ties the past to the present in a fundamental way. The perspective being developed were then used in a produced format, whether as a CD-rom driving tour to be heard while following the Lewis and Clark Trail through the tribal homeland or (as in the case above) in the gallery guide for the permanent exhibit, which explores moments in the Tribes' history and culture that afford explanation to the narrative of the tribal perspective on Lewis and Clark.

James Collins' writes of similar projects undertaken by the Tolowa people on the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation of northwestern California. Active in cultural and language maintenance efforts, the Tolowa in particular have been trying to recover their past by remembering it, and further, by documenting it. Underlying these efforts is the relation between "cultural otherness and political-economic subjugation; the complexities of history, as an external account and a mode of understanding; and the linguistic and political dynamics of claiming a place or being expropriated" (Collins 1998: 1**)**. The efforts of both the Tolowa and the Umatilla Tribes to hold onto local knowledge – stories, songs, places claimed through naming systems or testimony – reflect both an effort to preserve alternative lifeways and what Collins calls "an unavoidable transformation by the legal, political, and economic forces of the United States**"** (1998: 1). In the Umatilla Tribes' case, the production of Lewis and Clark literature and visual imagery developed from a tribal perspective gently moves towards an effort to preserve

themselves in a tourism setting while resisting against relegation of their past to the footnotes of history.

Fig. 3.7 School group tours "Corps II" traveling exhibit, which camps in Tamástslikt parking lot. Photo by the author.

Fig. 3.8 Stick game and flint knapping demonstrations given to school groups during "Corps II." Photo by the author.

Continued 'Projects with Purpose'

The motto, "projects with purpose" stemmed from the need and desire to create a tribal perspective around seemingly western-dominated histories, such as the story of Lewis and Clark story. These projects ranged from the folksy Homeland Heritage Corridor map, to the CD-Rom driving tour of the homeland corridor, both with GIS capabilities (which many U.S. Tribes now use for planning purposes, natural and cultural resource management, and for other projects). The tribes history transferred a predominantly oral history into book form and the Native place names atlas will, among other things, correct mispronunciations and misleading meaning in place names. Mapping allows space and place to be documented in a technological landscape. Putting tribes back on the map is the catch phrase and the bottom line in this project. They were on the maps of Lewis and Clark even if they were inaccurately placed, yet today tribal names are not on many contemporary maps. This is a sting for the Umatilla Tribes, who still hold that tribe and reservation name due to the inaccuracy of Lewis and Clark and those who came after. Clark recorded Yo-ma-lo-lum, yet *Ímatalam* (Columbia River Sahaptin), and *Yowátalam* (Nez Perce) are the actual names for the Umatilla village and river reflecting the importance of place names research. Maps also lead to mapping websites, like a NASA-sponsored site on Lewis and Clark as a form of discovery similar to the Mars explorations (www.l3-lewisandclark.com). Perhaps this website brings it back full circle to a colonial/post-colonial crossroads or confluence. It promotes the exploration of Mars in the future by looking at exploration and settlement of the west via the past. It claims this enterprise as part of the American story, the American myth, and the character of expansionism.

Attempts to gather oral history on Lewis and Clark stemming from the Tribes' convocation provide an example in mediating social memory. This, from one elder, in his follow-up oral history interview for the Lewis and Clark project:

> Jennifer Karson: Can you explain what you mean when you said that Lewis and Clark were not good housekeepers?
>
> LP: They just left things around at their campsite after they left an area. For Indians, each object has its place, where it is supposed to be. Indians would never do that. Most objects are sacred – either because of what it is, who made it, or who owned it, etc. Part of this means that spirits stay with these objects and are only happy when they are properly cared for [Tamástslikt interview transcript with *Átway* Lawrence 'Hamishpeel' Patrick, 4/2001].

He then told a story of going to an auction with his mother and bidding on a strand of wampum beads for $20 (*wampum* is not a Sahaptian family language term but a borrowed New England Algonquian term meaning shell beads). They got it. Then they packed it away in the van and headed home. The strand (or necklace) must have fallen out of their bag and got lost in the van. They couldn't find it, but later his mother said, "We have an extra passenger." So Ham later searched and searched and found all the loosely scattered wampum. He gave them to his mother and she dipped them in rose water overnight. They had been dingy and dirty and when she pulled them out, they were shiny and new and all sparkling.

The hope for the future is to keep looking for those confluences, crossroads, and connections of contact where collaborations are possible, by mapping new inroads and mixing it up. Introspection and analysis is taking place. N. Scott Momaday, who spoke at a Lewis and Clark symposium in 2004, sees the exploration of the peoples, landscapes, and growing examinations of self that Lewis and Clark "encountered" in the course of

their Expedition. The story of Lewis and Clark's "Mighty Columbia" today has become everybody's story, told in a multitude of ways. It neither negates nor relativizes, but is intermingled and establishes a story that is multi-angled. It is not just the 'tribal perspective' vs. 'white man's history' anymore, but may be seen as two sides of the same coin. This is evidenced in the question of who tells the story of the Nez Perce blind woman and how she told the tribe not to kill the Corps since she was treated well by white people in her life? It exists today in both the journals and in tribal oral history and is therefore a narrative shared by many.

Chapter 4: Claiming History II – Photography and Film

How do images and objects mediate social memory in colonial and postcolonial moments, both within and betweens cultural communities? How is memory – as both narrative recollection and social reproduction – enacted in material, visual, and discursive practices? This chapter examines how the materiality of visual media contributes to processes of socialization and to the continuity (imagined or otherwise) of communities through time; that is, how cultural practices and products facilitate remembrance as a social project. Using the previous chapter as a point of departure, I explore how the exhibit space and diverse media help constitute social relations of production and reproduction – both economic and cultural – over time, in a postcolonial, diasporic context. I then show how these same features become useful in the formulation of tribal narrative. The research identifies and engages with moments of tension between the production and reception of memorializing activities via images and objects as they circulate through various visual economies.

Asking how images and objects mediate social memory begs the question, which came first, the image or the memory? Does the image stir memory or represent and reflect the image or object, and how well? What is reinforced and reproduced? Is it purely from memory? I have shown that objects on display at a tribal museum, sometimes defined as Native artifacts, have undergone repatriation and an act of coming home. These objects when seen in animistic terms are therefore given an equal footing to humans and are undergoing their own diasporic experience in their return. But just as in

many diasporic experiences, an incomplete and mythic return may also exist, one bound up in layers of collective historical memory.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995) refers to Arjun Appadurai's belief that the debatability of the past operates in all societies, but he says that history is not infinitely susceptible to invention. History needs credibility, which separates it from fiction. Trouillot points to an example that ironically ties this research to that of Richard Flores' (2002) work on the Alamo in San Antonio. A Pan-Indian tribal group claims that over a thousand American Indian graves may lie adjacent to the Alamo, but this possible cemetery goes largely unacknowledged by the Daughters of the American Republic as it complicates their streamlined historical narrative, making it more layered and complex, and perhaps detracting from a villain-hero paradigm that they have carefully selected from history and put in place (Trouillot 1995**:** 9).

While I do not claim that Tamástslikt is a master symbol operating on par with that of the Alamo, I am more in line with Trouillot, who would call Tamástslikt and other museums of its kind "archives" -- places which formalize the narrative produced from history. Archives assemble, he says, in an "active act of production that prepares facts for historical intelligibility…They are the institutionalized sites of mediation between the sociohistorical process and the narrative about that process" (Trouillot 1995: 52). Through establishing a place where authority can be conveyed, where rules for credibility and interdependence can be set, Appadurai's argument over debatability becomes constrained and stories that matter get selected. Museum tours can perform this archival task as can projects with purpose that are produced for circulation at the site and beyond the museum walls.

In the creation of these projects, memory is actively constructed, engaged, and/or recuperated as part of social and cultural processes. These are processes that may cut across notions of 'traditional' and 'modern' and even 'local' and 'global.' They may in fact even be keyed by these divisions, as seen in the ways that memorializing with images and objects serve to shape social memory and how these social processes in turn privilege certain kinds of images.

Visual Imagery as Intellectual and Cultural Property

> Appropriationists see photography as perfectly suited by its very nature, to their theory and practice. Photography has created the conditions that make appropriation necessary; it has duplicated the world and created a surrogate world of images. In so doing, photography has demonstrated that our experience is mediated through imagery, that we cannot experience the world directly or make original images of it. In addition, photography is ubiquitous at all levels of culture, and therefore ties these levels together across artificial boundaries, such as the one between high art and popular culture. Furthermore, photography itself is necessarily a form of appropriation. It is, by nature, a way of taking pictures, of appropriating appearances [Eisinger 1995: 263].

Not all reservations are places of rennaissance and rejuvenation, but Tamástslikt, among others, is moving towards this goal. In addition to other narrative forms, the museum deals with the reclamation of history and culture through visual documentation. How the past is reclaimed and retold is among the forefront of the Tribes' missions. The necessity of historical documents to be present in Indians hands allows for the reshaping of recent history. The power to get them back is due in large part to legislation in the last decade. But the intent is made complex by the reality of repatriation. As I have

discussed, this occurs in several ways for the Cayuse, Umatilla and Walla Walla people in their daily workings, in both the public and private milieus.

Repatriation comes in different forms as does contact. Complicating how history is documented and maintained often depends upon – as in the case of the Moorhouse photos returning to the Tribes' – the context in which they are used, how they assist in the telling of a larger story and who is telling that story. How history is experienced, maintained and established in the permanent exhibit is challenging. Photographs serve as a tool in this endeavor. This becomes more plausible due to oral tradition being an accepted form of knowing the past. As the oral is not tied to the literal written form of history, the visual is readily engaged, as is the material, spatial, and temporal. Layering effects of photos within the exhibit serve as examples of this combined effect.

Creative expression and cultural identity occur through innovation of past and present images. Information held within photos merge contemporary art and culture through photography. Other efforts in photography cover new ground for individual artists and for the Tribe as a whole. One tribal member, Pat Hall Walters, is noted for her photography of Plateau beadwork. Crow's Shadow Institute of the Arts, located on the reservation, combines Chine-collé printmaking with historic family photographs. Lonnie Alexander, a tribal elder and traditional dancer herself shoots intimate portraits of other dancers on the powwow circuit, gaining access as a photographer working from within. Her status creates a closer relationship to the subject, revealing in her words "a certain truth as she herself is part of the representation she shoots."

Repeat photography is the use of photographic images from then and now, aiding in the struggle for sovereignty and a secure power base, most often utilized in land claims

or land management issues. In one case, it shows continuity of an action on the land through time. In "Whistling for Thorn Hollow," a Moorhouse photo of a steam train cuts through the reservation along the Umatilla River. The same scene was captured by a tribal member and myself to exhibit the changing landscape from the same spot.

The research library displays images that either correct history or interactively seek inquiry. Historic photos of families posed in traditional regalia or western clothes hang along the wall with the label asking for community members to assist in their identification. This 'genealogy wall' is part of a larger extensive photo archives. A photo from Chemawa Indian Boarding School in Salem, Oregon shows young women on work leave during World War II, all lined up against a 1940's era car. These uses and innovations with the photographic image reclaim the image and the representation that the image bears, reproducing it anew in form and purpose. The Tribes now use historical photography as a useful tool connecting past to present.

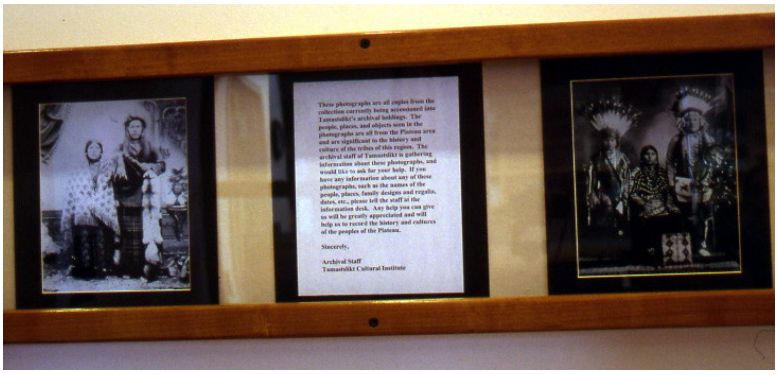

Fig. 4.1 Photo identification wall in Tamástslikt Cultural Institute lobby. Photo by Dallas Dick.

Fig. 4.2 Photo of woman work force from Chemawa Indian Boarding School during WWII. Photo by Dallas Dick.

Tamástslikt and the Repatriation of Visual Representations

Figs. 4.3 & 4.4 Two views of Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, exterior in winter and horse diorama in the permanent exhibit. Photos by the author.

Tamástslikt Cultural Institute is located on a scenic, arid, high plateau landscape on the Umatilla Indian Reservation, where members of the Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Umatilla Tribes retell their past in a public setting by making use of a collection of

photographs of their homeland and ancestors. Many of these were taken by Major Lee Moorhouse, an Indian agent and amateur photographer who was stationed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the reservation at the turn of the 20th century. By making use of these images, the permanent exhibit engages the broader meaning of repatriation in the context of the people, culture and stories represented, and the photographs contribute to the museum's foundation through the ability to identify cultural objects and family ties otherwise lost to them.

Fig. 4.5 Moorhouse photos placed in the Seasonal Round display in the "We Were" gallery of the permanent exhibit, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute. Photo by Dallas Dick.

Fig. 4.6 Interior of tule mat winter lodge with Moorhouse photos featuring a ceremonial giveaway. Photo by Dallas Dick.

If stretched to include the photographic image, the repatriation movement serves to reinforce an Indian identity in the present day socio-political setting. To many, these images once represented the end of Indian autonomy in the West and the beginning of the reservation system and widespread assimilation programs. Today, the photographs represent more, serving as a source of pride and knowledge, and often substituting for any tangible return of art and artifacts lost to the Tribes. The images no longer simply contain painful reminders of past Indian representation by non-Indians. By bringing them home, the Confederated Tribes have reclaimed these images for themselves in a useful, engaging and perpetuating capacity.

Fig. 4.7 Moorhouse image of a woman in traditional dress wearing beads similar to those on display in foreground. Photo by Dallas Dick.

An Exhibit Through Time

As their website promotes, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute presents an entirely new perspective on history. The exhibit takes one through eras pertaining to pre-European contact (including origin stories, a seasonal round and the Coyote Theatre), Lewis & Clark, the fur trade, missionaries, war and post-war, boarding schools, loss of the horses, 20th Century, and 21st Century. Filled with repatriated cultural property, interpretive panels, and their tribal languages, the exhibit is made more legible through the use of the historic images.

Strategically placed photos of Indians serve as silent tour guides, illustrating the flow of the exhibit through the We Were, We Are and We Will Be galleries. No longer frozen subjects simply on display themselves, the images serve a purpose for the tribe

that reaches beyond reminders of a romantic past. They are employed to assist in the retelling, and the Tribes control their representation. In the accompanying slide, the woman in the photo wears the bead necklaces on display. The photographs serve here to transfer objects of representation to objects of self-representation. At first appearance, these individuals hold a fixed gaze, frozen in time as the colonized Other. When understanding the context, however, the photos reveal more, as many tribal people voluntarily sat for portraits in their finest traditional or westernized garb.

The Moorhouse Photo Legacy

Major Lee Moorhouse, who actually gave himself the title of "Major," settled in the area and took thousands of Indian portraits and scenes for nearly a fifty-year period. While the original glass plates reside in the University of Oregon Special Collections, the descendents of the subjects of these photos have reawakened them. Obtaining reprints, Moorhouse's photo-documentation has become vital to the museum as the photos serve to renew interest and participation in Native arts and performance. They present tribal ancestors often photographed in traditional family regalia and offer visual proof of cultural practices as well as genealogical information. The Tribes' project of bringing photos back to the reservation where they originated tie the photos to the place, imbuing both with a richer context, as in this Moorhouse image of a man sitting next to his sweat house.

Fig. 4.8 Moorhouse photo of man posing in front of his sweatlodge near the Umatilla River on the Umatilla Indian Reservation. Photo by Dallas Dick.

Fig. 4.9 Moorhouse photo in the "We Are" gallery of man wearing a bandolier alongside the actual bandolier from the photo. Photo by Dallas Dick.

Bruce Ziff and Pratima Rao argue that an aesthetic claim tied to a notion of stewardship leads to cultural representations being best understood in their original setting (Ziff and Rao 1997). Further, this intimate relation to the setting itself, depending

on its context, can constitute a work of art. In their setting of the tribal museum, the Moorhouse photos make self-representation more possible while simultaneously complicating the notion of what is being repatriated. As the process becomes one of reinforcing identity, it appears to stimulate recollection that contributes to a tribal archive of cultural memory and history and a healing through the reclamation of those images. In his 1893 pronouncement based on the 1890 census, historian Frederick Jackson Turner proclaimed that the frontier west was gone. "By 1889," writes Martha Sandweiss, "Indians had been transformed from a potential threat into a romantic symbol of the old untamed West that was fast becoming more a legend than a place" (1991: 99). Early tintypes like this one, which is not a Moorhouse photo, rebuff Turner's projection.

Fig. 4.10 Tintype photograph of a man wearing a "capote" fashioned from a Hudson Bay Trading Post blanket. Photo by Dallas Dick.

This image reveals a less produced or staged scene. The image also ties the subject to the inland northwest and Columbia River Plateau and suggests an Indian relationship with the woolen mills and trading posts, which the permanent exhibit goes on to detail. *Átway* Calvin Shillal, Tamástslikt photograph historian, tribal member and photographer explained, "The tin types are really more true to the way people were back in those times, with styles and things that they did then that they don't do anymore today at all." Unfortunately, the Moorhouse collection does not portray these passing stylistic trends.

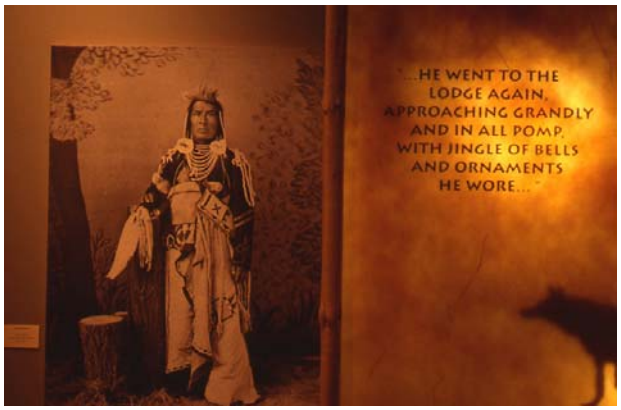

Fig. 4.11 Edward Curtis photo in permanent exhibit showing man in full regalia posing in front of European backdrop. Photo by Dallas Dick.

Fig. 4.12 Edward Curtis photo showing woman in wedding attire juxtaposed near wedding dress and veil on display in permanent exhibit. Photo by Dallas Dick.

As if taking his cue from Curtis' images from the turn of the 20th century -- for which Curtis sometimes provided traditional props for his subjects and encouraged them to adopt nostalgic poses -- Moorhouse used items from his growing collection to enhance the portraits of people in their finest dress, beadwork and fancy bags. However, the Curtis images are useful to the permanent exhibit for their authentic aspects regarding traditional clothing made from trade items such as wool and Chinese coins.

As the West became more like the rest of America by 1920, there were fewer unusual features to describe photographically. Moorhouse found he could no longer rely on this art of information, of journalistic documentation, with the purpose of

communicating particular facts about the social and physical landscape of the Indian homeland. The images of industrialization as they reach the reservation coupled with a message from a coyote story warning of the coming changes work together in the exhibit:

Fig. 4.13 Moorhouse images documenting the arrival of the train and automobile placed in the permanent exhibit, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute. Photo by Dallas Dick.

Oh There are Many Horses

It Looks Like a Roundup

Exclaimed the Ghost

"Yes" Replied Coyote, Though

He Really Saw None.

(interpretive panel text)

Like many white photographers intent upon describing the "West," Moorhouse often turned his attention from the present to the past, describing a place of history and myth. Where they had once tried to report, some photographers were now forced to recreate (Sandweiss 1991). In this 1920's era photo of the Pendleton Round-Up, photographers had the help of the community as well, who up to the present have performed this event under the town motto of "The Real West."

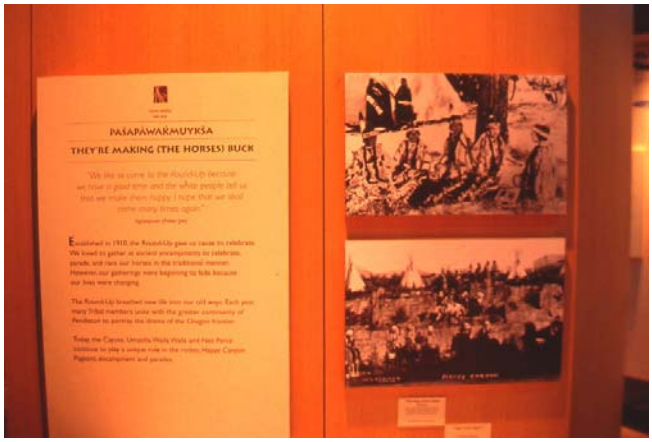

Fig. 4.14 Moorhouse photos of the Happy Canyon Court and pageant at the Pendleton Round-Up with interpretive panel, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute. Photo by Dallas Dick.

When presented in the exhibit, these images serve as a tool to experience, establish, and maintain history. Many of the images stand alone. This aspect becomes more plausible due to oral tradition being the dominant form of knowing the past.

When not tied to the literal written form, the visual is readily engaged. As seen in the conversion photos below, nuns and priests co-mingle with tribal people. Layering

Figs. 4.13 & 4.14 Tutuilla Mission and recreated church doorway with photo just inside. Photos by Dallas Dick.

effects of photos within the exhibit serve as examples of this combined effect. The image does not solely serve to illustrate text, but in a reversal, the text often appears extraneous to the image.

Fig. 4.15 Images of Catholic nuns and priests posing with their Native converts on the Umatilla Indian Reservation, as seen in the permanent exhibit at Tamástslikt Cultural Institute. Photo by Dallas Dick.

The life-size boarding school picture stands alone without an interpretive panel, showing the process of assimilation on display. The underlying text can be read in the faces of the individuals themselves, exhibiting how they truly felt, the serious expression on the faces of boys lined up to be photographed at Chemawa Indian Training School in Salem, Oregon.

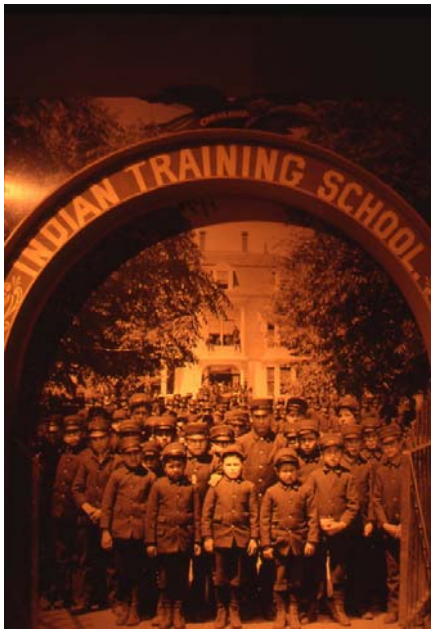

Fig. 4.16 Boys posing for school photo at Chemawa Indian Training School during the Indian boarding school era. Photo by Dallas Dick.

In *Camera Lucida*, one of Roland Barthes' first instances of profound reflection on photography occurs when he looks into the photographed face of Napoleon's youngest brother and relates, "I am looking at the eyes that looked at the Emperor" (1981: 3). In this, he is creating for photography a living connection to the past, to relations that reach

out from the flat black and white surface. Many people's relationship to photos on the Umatilla Reservation reveal they seem to know of this connective importance. Photographs serve as evidence to back up the oral record. They take to the image as a way of enhancing the oral story of their past.

"*Nuunim Himyume*," 'Our People' or 'Our Relations' in the Nez Perce language, was the title of a temporary show last spring comparing historic with contemporary images. The exhibit highlighted ancestors and their descendants side by side in similar poses in order to "illustrate a multi-generational relationship between descendents and regalia of Cayuse, Umatilla and Walla Walla people." Set up in the temporary gallery – situated to be passed through on the way in or out of the permanent exhibit – this show clarifies the past in a hands-on manner by and for the Tribes through the efforts of tribal photographer *Átway* Calvin Shillal. As the promotional material states: "The continuity of the culture and people that make up the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation were clearly illustrated. The unique presentation matches photographs of Tribal members in regalia taken during the 1850's up to the beginning of the 20th century with photographs taken recently."

The contemporary images are descendents of Tribal members and are tied to the historical images by the Indian names they bear or by the regalia they wear. In a photograph taken circa 1890, a Cayuse tribal member is seated on a blanket wearing a stovepipe-style feather bonnet and vest. Next to this photo is one of his great grandson, also seated on a blanket and wearing a similar bonnet and vest. Says Shillal: "Having these photos allows us to maintain the traditions that are unique to our Tribes and make us special. I encourage repetition as a way of learning. My grandparents told me over and

over how to do these things and that's how I learned. Of course, in this modern world we can videotape and record, but it's still important that the young people learn by repetition of the traditions. In addition, we have some things that are taught in the home and are not to be recorded or displayed." In addition to his grandparents' teachings, Shillal obtained ideas for regalia from these nineteenth century photographs to create his own.

"Erasure" is William Cronon's (1992) concept for the ethnographic impulse to record a pristine or unspoiled culture, and the associated need to suppress Indian history by depicting timeless peoples in unchanging landscapes. This impulse encouraged artists to erase evidence that Indians and Europeans had already mingled quite profoundly by the time an image was made. The placement of the images within the exhibit provides historical context to the Tribes' retellings. And while his depictions of contemporary life are highly selective, Shillal's project also appears to correct the record in a more precise way, to retrieve only the factual data from the earlier images, filling in the gaps where this erasure occurs. His form of repetition is authenticated in his treatment of the image, in his secondary actions of knowledge and reflection. He, along with other tribal members behind and in front of the camera consistently takes steps themselves to re-initiate the documentation process and create a fuller history, sometimes correcting the historical record altogether. The photographic image and the craft itself have found safe harbor in the hands of tribal members at Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, as this montage of contemporary images of traditional practices illustrates. One gazes upon the photos while listening to video sound-bites from tribal members speak of their hopes for the future of the Tribes in the final hall, known as the "We Will Be" gallery.

According to Stephen Cornell (1988), contemporary Indian-white relations are increasingly shaped by Indian action. As tribal museums undertake self-representation of

Fig. 4.17 The final message and photo wall of contemporary people practicing traditional crafts, located in the "We Will Be" gallery of the permanent exhibit, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute. Photo by Dallas Dick.

cultural material and accompanying narratives, they are shifting the subject/object dynamic to one of reclamation and control. Similarly, the use of the photographic image to fulfill a tribal museum's exhibit purpose opens up new avenues of use and expression for this artistic technology.

An Aside of my Own

Photography was a poignant topic for me as I returned to the academic setting from the picturesque landscape of "the field." One reason the Tribes' reservation is an American landscape is because it has served as such a cultural crossroads and yet fiercely maintains a sense of home and place. The Nez Perce Trail, the Lewis and Clark Trail, the Treaty Trail, the Oregon Trail, and the military trail have all left their mark. I arrived on this well-traversed landscape as a student of social anthropology, (emphasis on the student), even if well-armed with critical intellectual stances and a professional skill set worthy of the Tribes' attentions. But with camera at the ready, I was determined to document the process of fieldwork, secure in the potential of my original research.

In this pursuit, my urge to photodocument was nearly overpowering. After all, I was not just a passing tourist but undergoing a professional experience. No doubt, I was also preconditioned by my previous career as a documentary journalist. I fully intended to contemplate those photos for years to come. Yet through training, sensitivity and sheer fear, I held back, careful to comply with the Tribes' wishes not to photograph inside their Longhouse and to always ask permission before photographing others. "Five bucks," followed by laughter was the usual response when I asked, but it didn't stop there. Two incidents stood out which resituated the gaze back on to myself. In the first, I was invited to collect lodgepole pines for teepee construction with some tribal members and when I asked if I could document the process, they said, "sure" and that they would help. Once I was shown how to cut, limb and peel the trees, the process was documented, but not by me. In other words, they took pictures of me "practicing indigenous lifeways." In another incident, I was taken to the local mountains to gather mushrooms. When I

picked up my box camera to snap a candid of an Indian friend, I was met with a dueling box camera that took my picture simultaneously. In both instances, the subtle message came through in a playful manner – and I now have many photos of myself in the field to show for it.

To those I met, photography is a serious business. Photographic opportunities are designated and specific, becoming a highly structured practice for those in front of and behind the camera. Tourists may take pictures when appropriate – when the subjects are ready, posed, dressed in their finest, dancing or on parade. Outside of this public setting, there is a strong reluctance to allow outsiders to photograph private community activities. My own discomfort at attempting to photograph individuals or things I witnessed stemmed perhaps from my position as one in the gray area of participant-observation, situated somewhere between an insider and outsider much of the time.

If I have chosen a whimsical tone to discuss this topic today, it is because snapshots of friends and loved ones I left behind peppered the walls as I wrote this, creating the proper aura of nostalgia. But as explained by Berkhofer in *The White Man's Indian*:

> Neither nostalgia nor sympathy per se is a substitute for knowledge; only an accurate understanding of cultural diversity and ethnographic detail combined with firsthand experience constitutes a true basis for the realistic depiction of Indian life. From this viewpoint, the countercultural use of the Indian does not equal a realistic portrayal but merely a reversal of judgment upon the standard stereotype. For this reason, the modern anthropological image is important for the judgment of what is a realistic ethnographic approach to Native Americans as well as for its assumptions of cultural holism and moral relativism. Whether Native Americans themselves consider any White images realistic is quite another question [Berkhofer 1978: 104].

Therefore, at their very basic, photographs are a personal matter. They appear vitally important to tribal members – connecting their past to their present in an act of claiming those they know and love – as their people - claiming these images – sometimes wallpapering entire rooms with them in a subtle and powerful intent – claiming the faces reflecting back at them, as relations – sometimes with signature eyes of ancestors – claiming them and their past as their own. I discuss photography in a personal context because that is how I experienced it – as they showed me how they experience it – as playful, yet with serious undertones, of a simple and steady cognizance perhaps, of the power of the lens.

With regard to Film: Repatriating Representations Through Memory and Contact

> Now is the time when thoughtful and determined Native Americans are flying over the cuckoo's nest that is Hollywood. Indian filmmakers and actors intend to suffocate the old images and convert the screen Indian into a real Indian. Tonto, you may yet have your revenge [Strickland 1997: 45].

This quote from Rennard Strickland holds almost a revolutionary tone in reference to a conversion taking place in the Indian imagemaking outlets of America. While this is true and valiant efforts are being undertaken by Native filmmakers, writers, actors, and others, there is some room for argument that some Native folks also being complicit in the continuation of the stereotype, using it for their own progressive purposes. To discard the legacy entirely would be to discard elements of the authentic that can be found within and made useful. As in a religious conversion, when elements

of the original religion still come through and when confronted on a personal level, those original elements of the self appear to stand out and connect with a continuity of a more authentic and more complex nature. Perhaps in unraveling the screen Indian, in some cases anyway, the real Indian is also found to be there all along.

In the spring of 2002, near the end of my initial field work experience, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute hosted a tribal film festival. The two-day event featured the presentation and discussion of Native Americans in film, specific to the location of films shot in the Northwest. In addition to holding screenings from the early Western genre to the present day, the changing and growing involvement of Native Americans in film was engaged. The impetus of this event centered around two westerns shot on the Umatilla Reservation in the 1950's. Both of these productions featured local people, horses, and locations.

As an organizer of the festival and symposium, I sought Native and non-Native participants for discussion of their work within this field. I and the other organizers hoped to hold an open and honest forum in order to devise ways to educate the viewing public and gain further narrative control over Indian representation in the public sphere. The symposium workshops and screenings were open to the public and we intended for it to be an enjoyable and memorable occasion for all and a public program which could possibly continue annually. Entitled, "Northwest Natives in Film: Indians and Cowboys, Characters and Characterizations," the agenda included analysis of early portrayals as well as contemporary representations. Screenings of films made in the region were featured, including "Three Warriors" and "Powwow Highway," both filmed on the nearby Warm Springs Reservation. Sherman Alexie's "Smoke Signals" was shown as

was “An American Cowboy,”a documentary made by a tribal member on the very local subject of the Nez Perce rodeo champion from the Pendleton Round-Up, Jackson Sundown.

The issue at hand was the pervasive mishandling of the Indian character by years of filmmaking and the efforts to counter and reshape those images through stories and representations truer to contemporary life experience. The fact that at least three consecutive generations of Americans were conditioned to see Native people in certain ways, for clearly definable purposes, speaks to a message of racial triumphalism. Hollywood’s portrayal of Indians is what Ward Churchill has deemed "America's Master Narrative,” a concept similar to a Gramscian notion of "hegemony," in that, “indoctrination of the populace with a mythic (mis)understanding that nothing really wrong had transpired in the course of U.S. history” (Churchill 1998: 63). On the contrary, as the narrative continues, it had all been a noble undertaking, carried out by a combination of gallant leaders and brave settlers forging a better future. If anyone had gotten hurt along the way, namely Indians, it was because they'd "brought it on themselves" (1998: 63).

Not all Indians were depicted as bad, of course. Some were eventually depicted as noble. Even better were those who not only accepted the innateness of white supremacy, but who used their insights to provide actual service to Euroamerica, helping the invaders get on with the business at hand. Tonto-like characters were modeled after figures in the colonial literature of the time, and these characterizations made their way not only into the film industry but into the social network that surrounded it. When voices protested the Creek actor Will Sampson not being nominated for his accomplished performance as

Chief Broom in *One Flew Over the Cuckoos' Nest* in 1975, one director at the time asked publicly, "Why should an Indian receive an award for playing an Indian?" (Churchill 1998: 66). It appears that in communicating ethnic content even into the 1970's, a subtextual racism was present in Hollywood which was quickly disseminated amongst the rest of the global audience, where it could take root. Then suddenly, "revisionist" films like *Little Big Man* began to appear and the "Master Narrative" was consequently reworked to admit that unconscionable atrocities had been committed against Indians over the years.

The substantially Native production, *Smoke Signals*, has been celebrated as an American Indian production from top to bottom, which makes it historically unprecedented with profound social significance. It is still regarded as a singularly important movie, not just a milestone but a pivot point for Natives in North America in terms of their long marginalization and (mis)representation on the silver screen. Correspondingly, Hollywood could no longer hold the trump card with which it had traditionally controlled the indigenous image (Churchill 1998). But I contend that even before Indians played themselves on screen and for long after, some actively and consciously flirted with the Indian stereotype.

The two westerns, "Pillars of the Sky" and "The Great Sioux Uprising" both filmed in the 1950's and starring Jeff Chandler, were not as lethally stereotypical as Churchill might suggest. In addition to reproducing the stereotyped image, the film experiences were a source of humor and pride to many of the elders who acted as extras and horse wranglers in the films. I was told many stories of those times but no one on the reservation ever had the original films, as they were not distributed on video or for sale.

While perhaps living out the observer effect during my fieldwork period, I took it upon myself to return the two western genre films to the Tribes. Once I conveyed the dilemma to Universal Film Distribution, the conglomerate who owns the rights to the films, they agreed to send two copies of each film to the reservation, to be housed at Tamástslikt. The reproduced films would be declared as borrowed indefinitely and under the agreement, they were not to be redistributed. This created some tension in the ensuing months among some in the community. Once the films were given to Tamástslikt and screenings were held, many people contacted the institute asking for copies. As much as we tried to explain the agreement to people, they continued to think it within their rights to possess copies.

We showed the westerns to tribal members who could then watch themselves on film and merge their reactions with their recollections. One particular story was told to me repeatedly by tribal elder, *Átway* Lawrence Patrick. He remembered fondly when he and others were supposed to charge down a hill as Sioux Raiders. When the director yelled, "action," tribal riders took off on their Cayuse horses and soon overtook their "chief", a Hollywood actor on a trained Hollywood horse. The director yelled "cut" and bellowed into his bull horn: "All you Indians! Stay behind the chief!" This took place several times before the scene was successfully shot. The result of this and other memories was the documentary short I produced, entitled, "Stay Behind the Chief!: Tribal Elders' Recollections of their Days in Film on the Umatilla Indian Reservation" (Karson 2002). The process of making the documentary brought the event to a more personal level for all involved. I interspersed tribal members' stories with their personal

photos and scenes from the films. When merged together, the documentary short acts as a repatriated form, a simulacrum of the westerns reproduced in a new context.

Repatriation takes various subtle forms when seen to include processes of reclamation on the road to self-representation. In a brief excerpt**,** tribal chairman and elder Antone Minthorn recalls playing Sioux raiders and declares an irony in featuring the Umatilla Tribes as Sioux Indians, while also explaining the importance of seeing the images again as a reminder of the Tribes' not too distant lifeways:

> Our job was just to do the Indian thing, to do the riding, raiding, shooting, the Indian war thing. And that was our job. But it just so happened too that there were still horses up in the hills, wild horses. So if you look at the movie and watch them ride, watch these Indians ride, you'll notice that they are good riders on there. And I doubt if you can find that anymore today. And I think they chose that spot up there because it was pristine. I think we lucked out because it seems like I heard someplace that the Sioux weren't cooperating so they came here. And I don't know how they picked us--maybe because of the horses [Antone Minthorn, "Stay Behind the Chief: Tribal Elders' Recollections of their Days in Film on the Umatilla Indian Reservation" Karson 2002].

This narrative was laid over a clip from the film showing horse herds roaming the hills. Actual horses borrowed from tribal members and tribal actors did all of the stunts and riding required for the film. The quote above exemplifies that it is not just representation of Native stereotypes in film at issue, but the return of the films allows for a bit of the past to come home with them. Seeing beyond the cowboy-Indian storyline, the acting, and the make-up, what is brought home is a representation of the way things were, of the landscape and the horse herds, truly depicting that a wealth of horses and skilled riders were once in abundance on this reservation. Suddenly, for the Tribes, the

films take on a genre of documentary over that of fiction and the stereotypes are only looked at for what they might reveal as true underneath.

Richard Hill, Sr. uses stereotypical images found in early photography to show how stereotypes became pervasive in the media. Popular photo postcards represented "centuries of stereotypical images of Indians, but what most intrigued me was the realization that even Indians began to live up to such stereotypes" (1998:139). The Plains Indian stereotype was deeply ingrained in both Indian and non-Indian minds. In the emergence of the photographed stereotype, Indians too became collaborators, "captured for eternity in poses not always of their own making" (1998:140). Plains Indian culture had become the superculture against which all other Indians were measured.

Simultaneously and ironically, when the film industry began to portray Native people, non-Indians actors playing Indians became standard. By 1970, upwards of 350 Euroamerican actors had made their mark appearing in redface in Hollywood cinema. The first Indian actor slotted in a significant film role came that same year, when the Squamish leader, Chief Dan George, was cast as Old Lodge Skins in *Little Big Man*. Ward Churchill adds flavor to this dilemma: "So bleached-out had America's cinematic sensibilities become," he writes, "that when Cherokee actor Victor Daniels ("Chief Thunder Cloud") was hired for the non-speaking title role in the 1939 version of *Geronimo*, he was required to don heavy make-up so that he'd more closely resemble the white actors audiences had grown accustomed to seeing portraying Indians during Saturday matinees" (Churchill 1998: 71). CTUIR tribal members' recount similar experiences of being made up in heavy pancake and wigs of long, dark braids to look more stereotypically Indian on film. When friends and family members would visit the

set, it was recalled, often times they did not recognize their loved ones due to the full costume obscuring their identity.

Alongside and prior to films and photography were the wild west shows, replete with lifelike reenactments. Among the many wild west show's primary objectives was not only to provide exciting entertainment but also to fulfill stereotypes. The same was true for the western film genre. This sensibility appeared to be shared by many tribal members hired to do their parts as Indian warriors but this was also considered an absurd and humorous undertaking at times. The following article excerpted from the local East Oregonian newspaper shows how the local press covered the screenings of the films in a lighthearted way, emphasizing that uncontrollable laughter on the Indian actors' parts nearly brought the production to a halt:

> "Tribal Actors Found it Hard to be Stern - Reservation members hired to play Sioux Indians in 1950s films recall lots of laughter"
>
> MISSION — Laughter fills the room where former cast members of two Hollywood films made in the 1950s gather to remember their brief acting careers and take a look at some still photographs taken during the filming.But laughter was almost the undoing of the many members of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation who were hired to play Sioux Indians in the 1952 film "The Great Sioux Uprising."
>
> "They kept getting after the Indians because they were laughing," remembers Doug Minthorn. Even when they were supposed to be taking the heroine of the story as a hostage, the funny side of the whole situation got to them. "They couldn't make me keep a straight face," remembers Lawrence Patrick.
>
> Davis recalls the days of fall filming as being a lot of fun, filled with lots of good food, but it also had a down side. It was a chance of a lifetime for most of the young Indians, who were earning $50 to $60 a day for their work, but not

> everyone saw it that way. All those playing Indians in the film were asked to wear a dark heavy pancake makeup as well as long braided wigs for the men. "I remember how cold the makeup was and how ugly the dresses were, "said Davis." They were a heavy brown buckskin, not the pretty white dresses we have here."
>
> "I remember the good riding," said Minthorn "I walk over that ground now and think we must have been crazy" [East Oregonian Newspaper. February, 2001].

The experience of "playing Indian" by Indians themselves left many tribal members with more nostalgic and humorous memories than despondent ones. The irony did not go unnoticed, however, and much critical cynicism surrounding their performances was apparent. I found that film representations can lend themselves to how history of the west has been portrayed historically, in that both of these two westerns hold an absurd grip on the romantic. With the infusion of living memory directly related to those times, the static romanticism of a bygone era can be countered in instructive, empowering ways. Tribal members have a different set of memories of the experience and nostalgia comes forward tangibly. People remember and circulate stories of the abundant horse herds that once roamed the hills, the skilled horsemanship that came from working with those herds on the land, and the gathering and camping aspect of the film shoots themselves, which according to one elder, "took place just after Round-Up."

With the invention of mechanical reproduction of art, the reaction of the masses towards art changed dramatically. Walter Benjamin calls the reaction to film by the public a "progressive" one that offers a simultaneous collective experience. Yet while the film has enriched our field of perception, Benjamin cautions that the public is an absent minded examiner, all too eager to be entertained: "With regard to the screen, the critical and the receptive attitudes of the public coincide. The decisive reason for this is

that individual reactions are predetermined by the mass audience response they are about to produce" (1968:234). In both scenarios described in this chapter where visual representations are discussed, the historic black and white still photo and the western film are mediums where tribal members recognize themselves. They reappropriate former representations and use them for purposes of reclamation. Many Native people today refer to those old photographs for design ideas for their own traditional clothing or beadwork. Others tell stories of the days they had roles in the westerns starring Jeff Chandler up there on the ridge of the Blue Mountains. Perhaps Benjamin takes into account that people's individual experiences with filmmaking do not always coalesce with the resulting representation that comes across afterwards on the big screen when he suggests, "Evidently a different nature opens itself to the camera than opens to the naked eye – if only because an unconsciously penetrated space is substituted for a space consciously explored by man" (1968: 236). In this case, production and consumption were unique to the interactions, contact scenarios, and living historical memories of the players themselves.

A 'New' Hope for History

In prior research (Karson 1998), I traced the movement in historical scholarship of the frontier from singular to plural, and from paternal to relative. In retracing the scholarship of the American west, I argued that the idea of history moves from a singular paternalistic absolutism to a pluralistic cultural relativism, when taken to mean that separate absolute truths can and do exist simultaneously. By paternalism, I implied that a

dominant view of history existed in the west when written from a European-American perspective. American frontier history had been presented in a singular way for all to consume. But understanding history through various social, political and contextualized lenses allows for the presence of multiple historical truths. These truths function as agency for groups that use their own sense of history to further their particular causes in the present. However, the presence of conflicting histories does not mean that we are to remain stuck in the conflict between a scientific and an oral history, for example. Rather, it is through engaging a pluralized, conflicted historical field that we can create solutions. One such solution would move towards a relative approach to diverse groups and away from the "Othering," "marginalizing," and "minoritizing" of them. As Trouillot (1995) and Flores (2002) remind us, this movement is made possible through understanding that history is neither fixed nor absolute, but strategic and linked to the present. In his Foreword to the forthcoming book, *Finding Chief Kamiakin*, Robert Ruby states, "The future assures more Indian history will be written with input of Native people to alter the history written or seen only through the eyes of Whites." If this is true as it appears to be for the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, then it is the job of the anthropologist and historian to either assist in this process or, as it has been said (by tribal members I spoke with), "get out of the way."

Historians contesting the traditional view of the western frontier in the 1970's influenced a new breed of western historians whose emphasis on ethnic and racial diversity reflected the rejection of melting pot homogeneity (Limerick, Milner, and Rankin 1991; Limerick 1997). Historians and Native writers began an attempt in their literature to replace the term "the white man" as the unitary force of Turnerian

individualism and progress in the west. Instead, the west became a place where one set of waves of migration encountered others, Hispanic from the south, Asian from the far west, and where, amidst it all, the communities of Native Americans changed yet endured. The environment of the west became less of a harsh place to overcome, but rather a vital historical component that changed with human interaction, social patterns and the economy patterns and contributed to the western imagination. Patricia Nelson Limerick (2000) was central among the many new western ethnohistorians asking why the west had been considered for so long as having little to no importance to the overall history of the United States other than as a place to be tamed, conquered and settled. What purpose does it serve to present the politics regarding the repatriation process? One reason is that the challenge is still prevalent for the Tribes as they continue to navigate local claims on tribal history and culture. A case in point is the trendy and popular new Walla Walla wine region and its most popular attraction, The Cayuse Winery. With their own label, French vintner, and vineyard, a private non-Indian enterprise has appropriated the name of one of the three tribes for their business, even going so far as to claim with certainty (and without proof) that the Cayuse Tribe was named by French fur trappers. While the Tribes have not yet pursued any intellectual property litigation, the underlying tone for many is a perplexing one. Most appear not to react given the number of commercial enterprises that appropriate Native American symbols and identifiers, Navajo trucking and Yakima car carriers to name just two (Coombe 1998). Others use humor and wonder if they will get free bottles of wine sent to them and their Cayuse relatives at Christmas. And still others tend to see any borrowing as positive if it puts the Tribes in a good light and does not cause undue harm. The CTUIR seem to feel there are bigger issues at stake

in other arenas at this time, other fish to fry, than an enterprise simply benefiting for profit off of a tribal name. A political struggle over intellectual property rights – in this instance anyway – has not yet had its day.

Chapter 5: Managing Change

Figs. 5.1 & 5.2 The above images portray the location of a myth-time coyote story with accompanying interpretive signage (left) and a male traditional dancer perform for visitors in the Tamástslikt Theatre (right).

Pai Shamkain, also known as Dr. Whirlwind and – in the US Army as a scout – as Chief Sargeant Charley Shaplish of the U.S. Cavalry, was a Cayuse warrior. Here he demonstrates the Pendleton blanket as fabric in traditional dress [Label accompanying Major Moorhouse photo and Pendleton blanket display at the Pendleton Airport, Pendleton, Oregon. These public representations attempt to maintain the past in a traditional present form].

A blanket is an extension of an Indian man's status and feelings. In the past, an Indian man judged wealth and status in numbers of horses. Today, trade blankets are like horses were in past times. They define a person's means and are a part of

> his personal wealth. Friendship is highly important to an Indian man. A gift of a trade blanket is the best way for him to express his feelings of friendship and his appreciation for a good friend [Kapoun and Lohrmann 1992: 3].

The main themes of ethnographic and ethnohistorical research on the Plateau concern continuity in the face of great change. Significant questions remain to be addressed by scholars and promising avenues for addressing them exist. The future is manifested in the permanent exhibit at Tamástslikt as cultural tourism assists reconciliation and progress. Most of the scholarship regarding indigenous cultures of the Columbia Plateau region begins with a consensus that compared to other North American culture regions, not much research has been done in this area and the documentation is scarce (Sturtevant et al. 1998). The reason for this is not readily apparent other than a generally shared, and in my eyes flawed, theory that much Plateau style has been borrowed from the Plains and when it comes to the Plateau, there's no *there* there to create an overt distinction. More regionally, outside scholars claim the three Tribes on the Umatilla Reservation, (the Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Umatilla) are "understudied" when compared to the literature pertaining to the neighboring Nez Perce Tribe, due perhaps to the attraction of historians to Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War of 1877. What stands out most prominently in the ethnographic and ethnohistorical work on the Plateau has to do with cultural continuity and change (Ray 1936,1938; Anastasio 1972). Managing that change has become a logical act of agency on the part of the CTUIR.

Change took many forms on the Plateau, whether stemming from cross cultural influence and cooperation between neighboring tribes before contact with Europeans, the arrival of the horse, "frontier contact" between traders, explorers and settlers, or the more

rapid change from that point forward, massive decline and subsequent renewal ushered in by the reservation system (Garth 1965; Stern 1996) and subsequent losses and adjustments to that system. To track the main themes related to change, scholars boil them down to three general time periods: previous to European contact; post-European first contact; and the modern era on the Plateau, the period of the most rapid and drastic change, from the Treaty of 1855 onward. Strikingly, there is another element to the theme of change. In the face of change, there has been a steadfast adherence to retaining many beliefs and ways of life as well, lending credence to the saying by Braudel that, 'the more things change, the more they stay the same.' For the purposes of this discussion, I find most relevant a subset of the latest era from the 1970's to the present, a time noted as a period of renewal for many Plateau tribes and elsewhere, and somewhat of a departure from the notion of remaining the same in the face of change through adaptability (Sturtevant et al. 1998). Cooperation between Natives and non-Natives has resulted in positive change and assertions of cultural pride and stability among the CTUIR and neighboring tribes. Significant unresolved questions are still to be answered. Renewed scholarship surrounding the relationship of tribal groups to Lewis and Clark (Ronda 2002, Wallace 1999) and promising avenues to address them result from theories still being formulated by Native and non-Native scholars today.

Cowboys, Indians and Local Neo-Traditionalism

> Silences are inherent in history because any single event enters history with some of its constituting parts missing. Something is always left out while something else is recorded. There is no perfect closure of any event, however one chooses to

> define the boundaries of that event. Thus whatever becomes fact does so with its own inborn absences, specific to its production [Trouillot 1995: 49].

Trouillot states that silences and absences are inherently part of the production of history. Yet what happens when those gaps are then filled in and are made to stand side by side with a somewhat competing history? As this chapter attempts to portray, managing change has to do with negotiation through contact. For the Confederated Tribes, the story of the Umatilla River is one of abundance, loss, and rebirth – and heralded success in the return of the salmon. The Pendleton blanket, Round-Up and Happy Canyon are cases of remaining the same in the face of change, paradoxically preserving a local post-contact traditionalism or what I refer to as the town's own 'neo-traditionalism.' This symbolizes cohesion among the locals in "The Real West!" as the Chamber of Commerce promotes the town. Outside observers commonly ask how two different representations of the Tribes can co-exist, that of the Happy Canyon pageant and that within Tamástslikt. The answer can be seen in how tribal members partake in the rodeo that they helped to create.

The Pendleton Round-Up consumes the town in ritual fashion every September, being the third largest rodeo west of the Great Divide and an annual economic boom for Pendleton. The nationally known rodeo is organized and hosted by the Native and non-Native community of Pendleton and attended by thirty to fifty thousand people annually. Rodeo events take place throughout the week and are highly competitive. The rodeo's origins were manifested in a collaboration between Native and non-Native participation and today the rodeo prides itself on being a cowboy and Indian affair. By collaboration, I mean that members of the tribal community and non-Indians of Pendleton equally engage

in the Round-Up as a form of neo-traditionalism, even if they reproduce roles of past representations for the sake of nostalgia. There is a bit more destabilization taking place in the Happy Canyon pageant night show, however. The first half of the show represents the local Indian culture and history. Tribal members act out hunting and warrior scenarios, a traditional wedding scene, medicine doctor tradition, white encroachment via the Oregon Trail, and other moments in silence with music as background. It has since been updated and is now accompanied by a spoken narrative that tells the story more fully of loss of culture and displacement due to contact with emigrants, including war, disease, and treaty negotiations. The second half of the show has not been updated with narrative and retains a vaudeville style performance as it satirically represents the historical development of the town of Pendleton, complete with stage coach raids, dance hall girls, and Chinese immigrants operating a laundry.

The pageant script was written in 1911 by then Pendleton mayor, Roy Raley, an epic figure given his connection to the rodeo's beginnings. His script portrays the history of Pendleton and the characterizations of "the local Indians" which, to the outside observer, may appear dated, offensive, and rife with stereotypes and in direct conflict and contradiction to Tamástslikt's goals of self-representation. However, the roles have remained the same for generations and have been passed down within families, Indian and non-Indian. These representations have become traditional within this setting of contact and attempts to alter or update the original script have been met with some distrust and, at times, disdain by members of the tribal community and the long established participating families of the town. This was the case in September of 2001 when a New York Broadway director attempted to rewrite and recast the show in an

effort to make it more historically accurate. It was an effort that failed and Happy Canyon remains today in its less encumbered traditional form.

In analyzing this case, it appears to me that the Tribes create their own history and choose their own silences (Trouillot 1995). They impose silence surrounding the pain of being represented as stereotypical, and instead choose to find humor in their own self-representation. Consider this incident. One elderly tribal member, who spends most of his time fishing at the river, had not heard of the changes to the show in 2001 and showed up on performance night. Even though his part had been cut, he happily delivered his lines as he did every year since he was a boy and much to his surprise and chagrin, did not receive his usual and accustomed paycheck for his efforts. The event described here may have also been exacerbated by the fact that it was September 11th and the director, a Native of New York City, was very distraught.

Connected to this anecdote are theories of representation which relate to history being defined and displayed in symbolic form. Pauline Turner Strong reminds us that certain Native American critiques of representation have shown that laughter is at least as effective as argumentation in contesting ethnographic authority (Strong 1997, 2004). Happy Canyon certainly affords all who see it and act in it to laugh at the stereotypes as they take part in their representations.

Anthropological work, practice, or study does not exist or operate in a vacuum. It exists in a context, one which melds past with present and future aspirations, with notions of the traditional and the modern, in contexts of global and local interactions, and in a context of contact. Biolsi and Zimmerman might contend that the research I am engaged in is best seen not as scholarship on an "epistomologically privileged Truth or Science

standing above social life, but as a *discourse* that is a social, partial truth" (1997: 10) - partial in the sense of incomplete and interested (Clifford 1997). My aim was to figure out these contexts and track the willingness or resistance to change. In the local realm, the Happy Canyon Pageant, the evening show at the Pendleton Round-Up, served as an ideal and timely case study. I first attended the Round-Up and Happy Canyon on that fateful day of September 11th, 2000. In addition to attending the Happy Canyon pageant and rodeo, I stayed with families in the "Indian Village" in teepees that I helped erect on the Round-Up grounds. I had access to the Indian community throughout my stay and interviewed specific people on the importance of Round-Up, and in particular, the Happy Canyon Pageant in their lives.

Since immigrants began settling in this area, indigenous people and European settlers lived and worked closely with one another. The Confederated Umatilla Tribes maintain working relationships with the city of Pendleton, which was plotted and named in 1868. Throughout the year, the Tribes and townsfolk live peaceably, yet with little overt interaction. In September each year, Pendleton hosts one of the world's premier rodeos, the Pendleton Round-Up. Since 1911, Round-Up has been the major event that brings Native people together with non-Indians for a week of riding, roping, and parading. The 90-year old rodeo takes its name from the yearly seasonal gathering of wild horse herds that populated the surrounding hillsides in the Indian-occupied area for centuries. At the end of the rodeo evening, locals participate in the epic drama of the region on an outdoor stage. This elder reminisces on the early tribal involvement:

> My father, my mother, they both come from chief lineage on both sides. Chief of the Umatillas was a Cayuse, one of the last Cayuse leaders here. Great showmen

> that brought the Indians to Pendleton, to the Round-Up, he brought 'em in. He negotiated with the Bishop brothers and brought the Indians in with some more of the chiefs that came at that time [Tamástslikt interview transcript of Douglas Minthorn, 6/2001].

While Round-Up is a competitive rodeo where horsemanship is exhibited, historic stereotypes of cowboy and Indian are also re-enacted in playful form. This elder recounts the perils of staging a raid during one long ago Round-Up:

> The river was real narrow and deep. During the Round-Up, the Round-Up Association had a play. They would have Indian people up there meet in covered wagons on the hillside and then have a mini-war up there and the people at the Round-Up grounds would watch that from the stadium. After it was over with, the Indian people would circle those wagons and come tearing off the hill and across the Umatilla River, and the horses would just dive off of the big high bank. But they don't do that no more. And that was always exciting. Course you got your clothing wet, but it didn't take long to dry out. But we all did it. There used to be some women go up dressed like men and take part [Tamástslikt interview transcript of *Átway* Lawrence Patrick, 4/2001].

In addition to this "Indian raid" that took place during the day, the Happy Canyon night show performs first contact history between local Indians and European settlers, retelling the tale of settlement and change in the region. Laden with stereotypes, the show in its original state was briefly considered old fashioned by the Round-Up Committee and underwent a face lift in the hopes of generating new audiences of paying customers. Everyone from the area had seen it so many times that they weren't attending anymore. In 2001, the new show was set to debut, replete with a new director (an off Broadway director from New York) with a reworked script that attempted to smooth over the most glaring stereotypes. However, many in the Indian community were cool towards this change from the traditional show, even with the offensive representations contained

within. Roles have stayed in families and have been passed down from generation to generation over the years. In this instance, the relationships to change are delicate, often private. The most important thing, it seems to this observer, is that change on whatever scale no longer simply "happens" to them. They are now the managers of that change. As in the Happy Canyon show, if there are to be changes, tribal members will have a hand in them and manage those changes wherever possible.

Each year, the event is not without reflection and controversy as this editorial I was asked to anonymously pen at the request of a tribal member depicts:

> Letter to the Editor, Walla Walla Union Bulletin
>
> Re: "Some Question Tribal Role in Round-Up"
>
> In rebuttal to Sunday's mention, "Some Question Tribal Role in Round-Up," we of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation have more to say.
>
> The Happy Canyon Pageant is a tradition unto itself. Yes, many of the stereotypes that were often par for the course in entertainment of an earlier time are still portrayed, but in order to keep this play close to its original form, these stereotypes and gaps in history remain. Yes, the show has seen alterations. Two years ago, a director from New York tried to change it drastically. This created other problems and it is now undergoing changes at a slower and more manageable pace.
>
> We have a place where the culture and history of the Umatilla, Walla Walla and Cayuse people is fully told in a more appropriate context, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute. We also have a place where the culture and history is lived and continues to persist on a daily basis, on the Umatilla Reservation and throughout our ancestral homelands. But we also recognize that some of our recent cultural history is connected to the Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon. Many families (Indian as well as non-Indian) pass down the roles from generation to generation and new family stories are generated with each year these roles are portrayed. All year long, we maintain good relations with our Pendleton neighbors and once a year, we get together to laugh at ourselves and lighten things up a bit. Humor is universal and if we are to live on this land together into

> the future, that humor can go a long way [Walla Walla Union Bulletin, September, 2003].

In an unapologetic manner, the letter signifies to the public that Native representations can and do come in multiple forms and exist simultaneously. The letter indicates that there is also a place where the culture and history of the Native people is fully told in a more appropriate context, pointing readers to the tribal museum. The Tribes are in control of both representations and people are free to choose among them. Culture is on display in both scenarios, proving that displays and representations of their culture are multivalent. Complications do arise from the issue of control however. While it is true that tribal members operate the institute on the reservation and also freely participate in the Happy Canyon show, they are not in control of how others will view their participation. Some folks are still coming to terms with these seeming contradictions, making letters such as this one valid.

Armand Minthorn, religious leader and longtime Happy Canyon performer, approached me at the tribal longhouse auditions and the first reading of the new and improved politically correct script and asked if I thought the new director would be able to "pull it off." I replied that it appeared the show would only happen and work well if the Indian participants chose to make it happen. Mr. Minthorn nodded in agreement as if I had passed his test. In this, as in other instances, even if subtly, I was shown how the power of change has shifted to the hands of the Tribes. It remains to be seen how the Happy Canyon show and its participants will adapt to, resist, and manage those changes.

In terms of Indian-white local relations over the years, it appears that most whites in Pendleton were intermittently helpful and sympathetic to local tribal members and

quite willing to honor and to exploit them in the promotional context of the Round-Up. In general, however, a socioeconomic chasm separated local Indians from residents of the town, and few tribal members worked there. A subtle Indian stereotype prevailed. Following the business acumen of the Tribes in developing the casino resort (including Tamástslikt), the attitudes of most townspeople changed, but not a great deal. Tribal members continue to be regarded in the same manner, with some underlying caution and suspicion, but now as also "rich." Rennard Stickland, professor of law and cultural critic, assesses the more recent Native control of representation in film after a lengthy and pervasive historical period of misrepresentations by whites (1997). In similar fashion, Round-Up and Happy Canyon are enacted today as a form of local neo-traditionalism that is celebrated annually, with roles and much of the decisionmaking process firmly in tribal hands**.** While there has been cooperation between tribal members and local Pendletonians regarding Round-Up since its early days, the event today needs Indian participation in order for it to remain an attraction and stand out among other Western rodeos. This co-mingling is the trademark of the event and heavily lauded, although it is secured today through much negotiation. Native participants were always compensated financially to ensure there would be an Indian village, dancers and riders, and plenty of Indians on parade in the opening and closing of the rodeo. The roles have changed in that much of the decisionmaking is balanced among the two groups now, shifting the local power structure along with it.

This power shift among local Native and non-Native relations at the Pendleton Round-Up had influences leading up to it, the greatest of these and the focus of this study being the establishment of Tamástslikt Cultural Institute in the late 1990's, whose

beginnings were a negotiation from the start -- as an attempt to stand out among the other Oregon Trail Interpretive Centers -- with the lead voice being Native.

Other Museum Locations Along the Oregon Trail

James Clifford has done a brief overview of tribal museums in the Pacific Northwest. While laying out the broad notions, rights, purpose and functions of tribal museums, he accesses the topic as an intellectual tourist as opposed to offering a deeper ethnographic long-term study of one particular group (Clifford 1997). Following his model of comparison, I too found it useful to compare other regional tribal museums or cultural centers to Tamástslikt. I found that a comparative look at the other Oregon Trail centers revealed much about the contested history of the settlement of the western frontier and the public telling of that history in a museum setting.

I traveled to three other Oregon Trail Interpretive Centers -- to the east, south, and west. While they had the same interpretive goal of highlighting the history of the Oregon Trail, the approaches were different. In Baker, Oregon, near the border of Idaho, the museum praises the heroism of the pioneer spirit. Native people of the region are depicted as those that were to be met along the way, to trade with and befriend or to fear outright. The highlight of the establishment is the wagon wheel ruts which are still visible on the original trail. One can view these ruts from an observation window in the museum. To the south in Bend, Oregon is the High Desert Museum. This facility has several goals in mind. It houses much Native art and many artifacts but also attempts to interpret the natural resources of the region, with outdoor ecological exhibits. In this

vein, it appears as though the information regarding Native groups in the region is folded into the larger landscape of the high desert ecosystem being promoted. The third facility is The Discovery Center in the Dalles, Oregon. With an emphasis on the notion of 'discovery,' this center highlights the rich history in exploration, settlement and industrialization that occurred in the immediate area. The proximity of the Columbia River to the Dalles Dam is no doubt the impetus for the tone the museum takes. There is also some exhibit space devoted to the importance of fishing to tribal people along the Columbia River, in particular at Celilo Falls, which was inundated by the Dalles Dam in 1957. This fact is not made explicit, however, and the disparate parts of this museum appear to be at cross purposes to one another.

In all three non-tribal institutions, the emphasis is on discovery in some form and the representation of Native people of the region is overwhelmingly historical as opposed to continuous and alive. According to Pauline Turner Strong, discovery is "a common trope with a recognizable icon, a limited perspective that presents itself as universal, and a set of metaphorical associations with highly valued activities in American culture (self-discovery, scientific discovery, exploration, westward expansion, progress, ingenuity, originality)" (1997:48). "Discovery" is therefore central, she contends, to the dominant and often times Eurocentric, national narrative of the United States. In her critique of the Columbian Quincentenary exhibit, *Seeds of Change*, she laments that the overarching voice of the exhibit is too neutral, with "obscured power relations in both the past and the present." She makes clear that indigenous perspectives were not part of the national "We" in this and other commemorative exhibitions (Srrong 1997).

A side trip took me to the Warm Springs Museum on that Tribe's reservation. This facility is much smaller than Tamástslikt but the interpretation of artifacts is revealing. In front of every object is a lengthy explanation of its provenance in genealogical terms. Labels describe which families own the artifact and how it was passed down among the generations, which was equally important as who made the object. This may have been the case due to contestations that occured over inheritance among and within relations.

Upon returning to Tamástslikt from this venture to other Oregon Trail Interpretive centers, the overwhelming sense of place and its importance in creating an accurate and authentic representation was evident. Power relations are not obscured in the efforts to correct or resist against the trope of discovery in this particular tribal museum.

Fig. 5.3 Early construction phase of *Náami Nisháaycht* (Our Village) Living Culture Village behind Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, 2004. Photo by the author.

Managing Contact, Then and Now

Tamástslikt staff are often positioned as experts on all things Native American by virtue of being the first Native person that tourists encounter. Much work goes on behind the scenes to prepare for the questions that may be asked. This is the reason behind the FAQ, or *Frequently Asked Questions* handbook that I assisted in compiling during my research period there. Nevertheless, questions of a socio-cultural nature can blindside the staff (and this researcher), as in this disturbing example:

> Today, there was an encounter with a woman at the front desk of TCI. She was a middle aged Caucasian woman with shortish, blond hair. She came up to the desk, looked at the three of us stationed there, and said, "I have a question and please don't be offended." Tama and I were watching the phones; Dallas was standing between us. She continued, "I'm from Arizona and we have a lot of Indians there and they're almost all alcoholics. Is there the same problem of alcoholism here? Because there, they even have a casino and go to the liquor store. And the Indians there, when they get drunk, they get ornery!" [Karson fieldnotes, 4/2001].

It was impossible to answer this woman, whose offending question came through in a relaxed, conversational tone. Two of us were non-Native and did not wish to speak for tribal members. The third, a tribal member, just walked away, laughing and shaking his head. Perhaps finding humor in the moment was a mechanism that helped to blunt the pain or awkwardness of the encounter. In this instance, silence was the response rather than engagement. The hope instead, was that the example of the institute itself would provide the woman with enough context to formulate her own answer**.**

It is evident in the above example that the cultural institute creates a forum where opinions are freely and publicly expressed. The tensions in such interactions remain, however. Visitors Services staff often lament the task of manning the front desk. In

addition to the type of encounter detailed here, they are often confronted with general information questions regarding Indian country, Native American culture, and even sweeping inquiries regarding their own local history and culture. "We are expected to be experts on all things Indian" one staff member told me, "just because we represent the public face of the Tribes. Sometimes visitors think we represent all Indian people."

Even with the inevitable pros and cons of this nature, reservation tourism is alive and well via Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and its adjoining Wildhorse Resort and Casino enterprise. Whether it is contact that dates to pre-European settlement, or after the arrival of Lewis and Clark, or centered on the Oregon Trail, or the exchange of Indian trade blankets (such as the coveted Pendleton blanket), there is a continuum of adjustment and survival through contact. The Tribes live these contact histories, incorporate them into Native culture and tradition, merging the tourism enterprise with reconciliation and progress. The past, present, and future as manifested in the permanent exhibit, "We Were, We Are, We Will Be" is only the first example. Whether this is manifested in housing a temporary exhibit on the works of Edward Curtis, a tribal photographer's retrospective, or the "Here Forever" tribal art show; widely distributing Lewis and Clark presentations from a Native perspective; or hosting a Holocaust survivor and bearing witness to her testimony at Tamástslikt, the tribal museum has done much to control their version of "The Real West" and make it their own.

The Tribes preserve practices of the past through negotiations in the present. At the same time that tribal longhouse activities flourish, including seasonal ceremonial events, namings, adoptions, and giveaways, the task of preserving the past into the present never ends. Tribal efforts to restore and manage salmon runs, preserve and

document original Native place names, and commemorate the 1855 Treaty through annual observances all assist in negotiations over land usage and bolster the sovereignty the Tribes must maintain. An example can be seen in the Umatilla Basin Project, held by the CTUIR as a major recovery success story on many levels.

If rivers are lifelines, the Umatilla is the major lifeline flowing through the Pendleton area. Construction of homes, rail lines, irrigation canals, and dams have all changed the river from an unadulterated, free flowing watershed to a partially managed system. But it is still one of the major lifelines connecting the mountains to the Plateau plains to the Columbia River. The Umatilla River flows southwest from the Blue Mountains, through the Umatilla Reservation, into Pendleton where it curves west just behind the Round-Up grounds. It is the major drainage system in the area. The Umatilla Basin Project brought together local agriculturalists and their need for irrigation with the Tribes and their need to restore water and salmon runs to their rivers with state agencies and environmental groups. All worked together for their own best benefit. In a bucket-to-bucket water exchange program, the Umatilla was replenished by borrowing water from the Columbia River. Farmers in Umatilla County got their irrigation needs met and the CTUIR was able to repair watersheds, riparian zones, and fish habitats. With a combined wild salmon recovery and fish hatchery program, the water and finally the salmon began to return to the Umatilla River after an absence of seventy years. Tribal member Armand Minthorn elaborates:

> Because of our economics, we've been able to enhance the efforts that were already there with the Umatilla Basin Project. We've been able to strengthen our programs which in turn, enhanced the habitat, enhanced our capabilities with local governments, and the return this year in the Umatilla River, we had over 200,000

> chinooks return. So, that's an example of our economics and the strengthening of our capabilities through the casino [Karson interview transcript of Armand Minthorn, 7/2001].

Repatriation occurs for the CTUIR in many instances through legislative action as well as via economic success. At Tamástslikt, NAGPRA is invoked more as a bargaining tool, a negotiating device, and an opportunity to begin the process of shifting hearts and minds towards a more amenable playing field for tribal and non-tribal interests. Another example lies in bringing the other side to the table through exposing them to traditional culture. For the last several years, the head of the tribal Cultural Resources Protection Program invited representatives from the Army Corps of Engineers to spend a weekend on the reservation at Indian Lake in the Blue Mountains where they were exposed to traditional practices and philosophies. The hope is that, the next time a tribal representative brings up an alternative suggestion of restoring riparian habitat by reintroducing the beaver to the tributaries, he may not be met with so many blank faces. I refer here to a meeting I attended in spring of 2001 at the U.S. Forest Service headquarters in John Day, Oregon, a two hour drive south of the existing reservation but still within ancestral homelands of the CTUIR. Hosted by The Bureaus of Reclamation and Land Management, most of the presentations had to do with heavy structural engineering projects to create berms and dams and to manage river systems in the region. Only one representative from the area tribes was present and his suggestion to reintroduce beaver populations to create natural river habitats for fish was scoffed at by the structural engineers -- in part, because he was outnumbered and a lone voice. The following year, more tribal representatives showed up and their ideas are now better

incorporated into structural plans along the rivers, waterways, and tributaries in their ancestral homelands.

Return and the Power of Place

Land reparations serve as a metaphor for repatriation. The salmon coming home to spawn and die is also a metaphor for repatriation and return. As they return up the Umatilla River, the act exemplifies that the earth and the water are sacred as they hold the resources of subsistence and the bones of tribal ancestors. Cultural wellness becomes an important link to physical wellness as reconnection with the homeland contributes to that wellness. According to many I spoke with on the reservation, individuals who feel a part of a whole create a community health. Reconnection with the homeland deals with cultural wellness as it combats hopelessness and despair. It can also create an insulated lifestyle however, as younger generations opt not to leave the family home or the reservation. Some youth do not want to leave the home or go away to college, due to an unspoken betrayal that accompanies leaving the family and reservation. Being far away may make someone miss an important event or families may put some pressure on individuals to stay. People who assimilate too much earn the label of "apples," red on the outside and white on the inside. The metaphor of the crab pot is also often circulated – that if one crab tries to get out of the situation (or pot) that they all find themselves in, he stands on the backs of the others to do so and often kicks them back down or out of the way on his way up, or others pull him back in. When they do leave, even in the best of circumstances to attend school or join the military, it still brings elders hope and

consolation when the young ones come home. As part of the final video display in the "We Will Be" gallery of Tamástslikt's permanent exhibit, one such elder tears up as he says his grandchildren are returning to the reservation due to all of the new economic opportunities it has to offer and with tears in his eyes exclaims, "They won't be lost anymore." In this broader understanding of repatriation as a form of renewed return, it can even occur with people.

Addressing environmental contexts of Native homelands, wellness, health and the land are all part of a larger sequence. Land reparation and salmon returning are metaphors for repatriation. The salmon makes his way up the Umatilla River, returns to his place of birth to spawn and to die. People who leave the context of the reservation or lose their connection to their people risk remaining in isolation from their collective identity. Whether they be objects, animals or people, they all have the ability to come home. Home or homeland is also a metaphor for the sacred, and it is often repeated, "The earth and the water are sacred since they hold the bones of our ancestors."

A fear of disconnection and loss is mirrored in contaminated returns as well. Representatives at Cornell University are assisting in the repatriation of Onandagen medicine masks taken by anthropologists at the turn of the last century. Ideally, the return was a victorious step in that it will allow Native Americans to continue the practice of healing as those masks were intended. But it came to be known after their repatriation that those masks were laced with arsenic and other contaminants for preservation purposes by the Smithsonian, a common practice in museum curation after World War II. The message is that it is dangerous to take the mask out of its cultural context. In so doing, it loses its essence and power. The lesson here is that with objects or with people,

the danger is the same. There are dangers involved in taking something (or someone) completely out of its cultural context, dangers that extend beyond the disconnection of displaced representation. There is a risk of losing the very essence and power of authenticity through this disembodiment from place. The following example attempts to resolve this issue and yet only partially succeeds in doing so. What is revealed are the social and political tensions within the Tribes themselves that can accompany the return process.

Conflicts and Tensions: A Repatriation Dilemma

Intratribal departmental conflicts are at times akin to generations-old family feuds. The Cultural Resources Protection Program and Tamástslikt have had different practices and similar goals in their working relationships. CRPP is a monitoring program within the Tribes' Department of Natural Resources that protects culturally sensitive material and information belonging to the Tribes. In contrast to the mission of Tamástslikt, the mission of the CRPP is to preserve and protect all archaeological and cultural sites through very limited access to the sites and the cultural information pertaining to them. Conversely, Tamástslikt chooses to protect and preserve through public perpetuation rather than private protection of sensitive information and combines a public and private use of space. It features public exhibits and programs as well as a research library, archives, and vaults. When the two programs work together, their contrasting goals can at times create points of conflict. A case in point involves a recent repatriation to the Tribes of Columbia River boulders covered in petroglyphs. The

boulders had been removed to a nearby town adjacent to the Columbia in the mid 1960's by the Army Corps of Engineers to avoid their being flooded under the rising water from the latest dam construction. A city park was developed around the boulders, where they remained until episodes of vandalism prompted the CRPP to negotiate with the town for their repatriation. There were inherent dilemmas involved in this situation. The boulders were repatriated back to a place that was not their original location. They were already in the closest location to their original setting of the banks of the pre-dam Columbia River (the ancestral homeland of the CTUIR), so to remove them further away from the river and on to the reservation was counter intuitive to repatriating them to a place-specific origin. When seen as objects of cultural property, repatriating the boulders back to the Tribes was a logical act, but when seen as archaeological artifacts, returning them to their natural setting away from public view appeared a more logical solution.

Fig. 5.4 Members of tribal Cultural Resources Protection Program and Tamástslikt staff gather around two boulders with petroglyphs behind Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, August, 2007. Photo by the author.

Much debate ensued as to what to do with the boulders between the tribal programs of Tamástslikt and the Cultural Resources Protection Program. There were four boulders in all and it was decided that two would come to the reservation and the other two would be moved further downriver to an undisclosed location on managed public lands yet still within the ceded ancestral homelands of the three Tribes. There, they could be monitored and protected while no attention would be called to them.

Tamástslikt staff were initially opposed to receiving the other two boulders. Both groups felt the boulders needed to be placed out of doors as opposed to in a vault. The reasoning for this was two-fold. To place artifacts in storage and away from a setting closer to their original context would be to replicate the practices of museums past, the very practices that Tribes were opposed to. Also, the boulders themselves and their markings were intended for the out of doors. In an effort to not wholly disconnect them from their original cultural context -- and from what Appadurai might call their animistic "social lives," -- placing them in the elements, would at least in part, continue their continuity of place. The CRPP consulted with an archaeologist employed by the state regarding the significance of the placement of the boulders (such as the direction they originally faced and the original distance between them), and she oversaw their relocation from the city park to the tribal museum. The boulders were placed behind the museum and adjacent to the newly completed *Náami Nisháaycht* (Our Village) Living Culture Village, yet exactly if and how to interpret them is not yet worked out. In the image below, taken from an interior office, structures in the village are visible as is the interpretive signage which accompanies them along a walking path. The boulders are

Fig. 5.5 Placement of boulders in Living Culture Village. Photo by the author.

placed away from the center of the village and off the beaten path with no accompanying signage. This temporary resolution combines the missions of public and protected repatriation yet is neither smooth nor ideal. The local paper in the town which had presided over the boulders for decades ran this uncomplicated caption with a photo: "This stone will be displayed at Tamástslikt for the education of young people about history." Upon closer investigation however, a simple and homogenous outcome alluded to in the headline falls short of the more complicated return that was the reality. The images below show the placement and markings, which both factored into the terms of their return and their placement on the grounds of Tamástslikt Cultural Institute.

The Tribes have a personal relationship with the museum, its location and its contents. But Lawrence Grossberg's notion of the "call to context" seems to assert that true self-representation still needs an audience with which to co-mingle (Grossberg1997).

Figs. 5.6 & 5.7 Markings visible on faces of repatriated boulders. Photos by the author.

In "The Context of Audience and the Politics of Difference," rather than allowing a discussion of context to fetishize the local or relegate itself to the afterthought of background, context can bring us closer to our subject, to be used as a tool "to reconstitute a theory of agency, of how and where people *do* make history under conditions not of their own making" (Grossberg 1997: 322). Arguing for the appearance of the active audience at specific political moments (the audience in this case can be internal as well as external), Grossberg contends that the crisis of American self-representation is valorized (1997). If self-representation needs the audience like the artist needs the market and production needs consumption, then contact in the setting of a tribal museum provides a context for the politics of self-representation to be practiced. Grossberg's words are valuable here in that they make the case for allowing these complicated returns to occur and creating opportunities to learn from them. Sharing the

context of the story of the boulders' "return" with the visiting public may also be instructive. Detailing complications to repatriation offer a more accurate and complex picture of the process, allowing perhaps for more leverage and leeway within the movement of repatriation itself.

Reconciling all of these seemingly co-existing contradictions is a continuing process. It appears possible that repatriation cases like the one discussed above are more important for what they may allow to take place in the realm of self-representation and control than for what they actually do or do not physically return. The Omaha Sacred Pole was an object that came back to the Omaha people from the Peabody Museum under mixed emotions (Ridington 1997). As I discuss in an earlier chapter, the traditional framework for the pole and how it was to be understood and interpreted upon its return was unclear. Many felt its presence as a force for good while others felt it was a force to be wary of. In the end, the pole was not displayed upon its repatriation and it will take some time to figure out a purpose for it in the present, including building a proper structure to house it. Much had to be worked out as to how the pole would signify the identity of the Omaha people. Like the boulders placed back with the Umatilla Tribes, this heterogenous group did not initially see the pole in a unified way. Robin Ridington reminds us that the fundamental difference of opinion, whether Umon'hon'ti would be seen as "a blessing for a long time to come" or "a thing powerful for harm may not be reconciled by the generation responsible for repatriating him (1997). The hope of Dennis Hastings, Ridington's collaborator, was that a younger generation would come to appreciate the pole as a blessing and not as a danger.

Issues of Control Explored

Control as a theme runs through all three of the larger theoretical frameworks of repatriation, representation, and collaboration discussed in this dissertation. Tribal groups assert control over their intellectual and cultural property through acts of repatriation. They then work out models for self-representation, enacting agency in these efforts. Control within the realm of collaboration requires a more subtle balance with shifting levels of control taking place. While the question of who was in control entered into my fieldwork experience, I believe that both myself and those I worked with exercised our own levels of control. Entering the field with my own preconceived notions made me feel slightly similar in form to the woman who later asked us at the front desk about apparent Native predispositions to alcohol. I reached a better understanding as I pursued individual relationships, however. I was aware of my boundaries as an outsider, in so far as I was new to the surroundings and did not share in the long-established relationships among the tribal and non-tribal local communities. This positioning was freeing for me in that it was unique and there was no set way in which community members and I were supposed to relate to one another. I was the first outside graduate researcher in residence to spend time working on a voluntary basis at the museum and this relationship was therefore flexible, often moving between what I was asked to do and what I was able to accomplish on my own while I was there. The label of "anthropologist" was only an issue at certain times. I was always up front about my field of study, and this fact was almost always met with more respect than disdain. Once people got to know me and I them as individuals, suspicions on both sides were eased.

Pre-conceived notions of the anthropologist and the Native informant were pushed aside (yet not entirely erased) as new friendships developed.

My personal boundaries were a factor in my research in that I was not always aware of the depth to which these social and political factors played a role in the working relationships I observed. I was not initially able to acknowledge the strains within the working relationships that those at Tamástslikt were maneuvering through. One of my first encounters with the front desk museum staff makes this point. When I first began fieldwork at Tamástslikt I noticed that the tribal member at the front desk often wore a Cleveland Indians baseball cap featuring the iconic figure known as Chief Wahoo. This grotesque and offensive Native American stereotype was a well- known controversy among anthropologists who were organized in protest against the image and lobbying to have it removed by the baseball club. But when I questioned the tribal member about his opinions regarding the image, he told me that he considered it to be an urban Indian problem. He explained to me that out here on the rez, it was humorous to sport the cap and image, showing how folks around here can rise above and laugh off those stereotypes as ridiculous and silly. As I understand this example now, it shows me how Tamástslikt as an enterprise was made up of committed individuals but was by no means a homogenous place.

Some of the reactions to me may align with Tamástslikt as a cultural project itself, in so far as the museum engages much anthropology and ethnohistory in the creation of the exhibits and ongoing work. This fact substantiates the interesting and unexpected scenario that tribal members at Tamástslikt are all essentially Native anthropologists in their work. I encountered tribal members in other unexpected roles and places as well. I

often saw tribal members, as well as many elders, gambling in the casinos and playing golf on the golf course at Wildhorse Resort. Leisure is refigured in this scenario, as is class, as tribal members move up the social ladder. On one occasion, I discussed the landscaping of the casino with a tribal community member. I was curious as to why it wasn't landscaped in an environmentally accurate and conservative way, using arid and Native plants, for example. I was informed that it was more important to people in general to represent the Tribes' economic success through the proverbial "white picket fence" and fancy non-Native landscaping, such as roses and topiaries, that would show the "neighbors" that the Tribes were equals to be reckoned with. This exchange showed me that the casino resort was not just about cashing in economically but also played a role in the gentrification of the Tribes as they moved into the middle class as players in the local community.

The politics of place therefore was a recurrent theme during my fieldwork and the politics of family was an underlying factor. Other instances during fieldwork also showed me how pre-conceived notions can appear uncomplicated or contradictory and misleading. One age-old question involves a disconnect seen by many between tribes and the casinos they now operate. This confusion often came up in visitor inquiries at the tribal museum. The explanation given is that gambling in the form of redistribution of wealth is a traditional practice and that tradition is now practiced in an evolved form with contemporary tools and technologies. Another example of traditional and contemporary mixings involves a tribal member (of the younger generation of traditional practitioners) who bemoans what he sees as "invented piety" now taking place at powwow celebrations. Some of the singers and dancers he encounters protest the sacredness of

songs and dances being revived at powwows. At issue is whether or not these songs and dances should be exhibited in this public setting. He said that concerns for protection can be overbearing in this venue, which he sees as a misuse of a celebratory event space that confuses the issue of cultural return. This tribal member found it random that certain individuals or families deem some settings appropriate or inappropriate for this practice. It appears to be too limiting to proclaim the invented nature of the powwow ceremony (Foley 1995) without understanding it as a form of neo-traditionalism as well, both for the non-Native public and for the Native participants themselves. Erecting teepees and camping out on the grounds of a powwow is similar in fashion to how things are done at the Round-Up grounds. There is some invention in the acts of performing Indian-ness, but this aspect of "playing Indian" is not solely performed for the outsiders gaze or for a tourism function, but also for the Tribes. Borrowing of the stereotype or representation of the western past takes place as a form of perpetuating tradition through the nostalgic re-enactment of traditional "cowboys" and "Indians" here in "the real west," once again, claiming a past and asserting that past in the present in a newly empowered form.

I came to learn that individuals, families, and the tribal community were located socially and politically in a past that often played itself out in present political circumstances. I offer a specific institutional situation as an example, which involves an intellectual property dispute over language and oral history among the tribal programs themselves. The CTUIR tribal language program is made up of a small number of remaining language speakers of the Sahaptian family dialects of Walla Walla and Umatilla as well as speakers of the language of Nez Perce, all languages traditionally spoken on the Umatilla Reservation. As the languages have become more critically

endangered, efforts by the language program to preserve the languages have accelerated. Classes are taught in the languages every week, technologies are being utilized to digitally preserve the language's speech patterns, and a language mentorship program has begun -- whereby younger speakers are learning the languages and then teaching them to the high school students at the tribal charter school. Recently, Tamástslikt received a grant to also preserve the languages through a project called "the Counting Book." In this seemingly very simple publication, artistic renderings by tribal youth represent the numbers one through ten which are then translated into the three languages. Several hundred books were published as part of the grant agreement. The issue of contention arose over the fact that Tamástslikt then attempted to sell the published books at the museum store, with proceeds returning to the Tribes as a whole. Some of the more vocal elder language instructors protested the act of selling these books and demanded that they be removed from the tribal museum store. At this point, there has been no resolution to the situation and the books remain in storage.

In speaking with other elder language speakers about the issue, some made it clear to me that they did not support those elders who stopped the book from being sold and resent being lumped into the category of all elders either thinking or feeling the same way. Many have said that they feel the loudest voice among the elders is not always how the majority of them feel on a subject and it only serves to exacerbate a situation when action is taken based upon the protests of those few who feel proprietary over the language. Whether it is between individuals or family disputes, spanning both younger and elder generations, or among tribal programs, there is not a simple and homogenous stance when it comes to the details surrounding traditional identity, nor how traditional

practices should be managed in the present. Often, these issues undergo much open-ended negotiation in this way, maybe the most flexible mode of moving towards a consensus and united front in self-representation, preservation, and perpetuation of tribal knowledge and culture. As the following sections suggest, a strong and rooted belief system drives much of the mission, no matter how it may be derived or arrived at, it is the end result of exercising tribal sovereignty that matters most to the Tribes as a whole.

Bringing the Message Home

Messages of returning and repatriating knowledge are circulated at Tamástslikt to varying degrees in display or through interpretive tours by staff members, in a continuous effort to connect past to present. One such display shows photos of a beaded bag collection in the temporary exhibit which were taken by a local newspaper photographer. They are not only intended for display but for those in the community to hopefully contribute identifying information, either of the people in the historic photos or of the artists of the beaded bags. This information will then be used to give those bags a more solid provenance in the museum as well as in the community.

In a tour of the museum exhibit, an interpreter explained how the allotment era affected tribal land holdings in the post-treaty period: "The Dawes Act of 1887 created a checkerboard reservation. Each tribal member on the census was given 40, 80, or 160 acre allotments. The rest was deemed surplus. Now zoning laws restructure the land. The reservation consists of 172,000 acres today. There were 510,000 set aside when the treaty

was signed. There were 6 million acres ancestrally." This interpretation moves swiftly back and forth from past to present, making it clear that those connections to past exploitations are also a reality in contemporary times.

Interpreting at the seasonal round section of the "We Were" gallery, another staff member shows and explains berry picking baskets and otter pelts. Baskets are made of cedar root or bear grass with Indian hemp used for design. They have an airtight weave for transporting liquids. He also shows an unfinished beadwork project with linear designs. He fields questions, such as "how much was introduced by the settlers? Are skins tanned or air dried?" He explains the brain tanning technique and smoking of hides. He explains that glass beads came from Europe as a trade item and were quickly incorporated into Native arts. He fields a question on his blood line. His family is of patrilineal descent, with the male line as dominant, pointing to the importance of male leadership and the warrior society. A visitor asks, "how many are in the Tribes?" He answers there are over 2,200 enrolled, about 1,500 live on the reservation, the rest off. I am asked questions as well, making me complicit in the observer effect. Including me in their process of 'taking it all in', a couple from San Diego ask what I am writing. "Ethnographic fieldnotes," I tell them. They say they wish there were more of these places around the country. I answer that with the repatriation movement and other incentives like it for self-representation, there are starting to be.

The Celilo Falls mural in the lobby evokes memories for local Indians and non-Indians. Tribal chairman Antone Minthorn explains that white people have oral histories about Celilo Falls too. Elders interpretations are evocative, stemming from living memory, and filled with sadness and humor. A now departed tribal elder, *Átway*

Lawrence Patrick or "Ham" which is short for his Indian name of *Hamishpeel*, tells a funny story about being a young man fishing there. Kathleen Gordon imparts the sounds and smells. The descriptions are visceral in nature. Volume 12, on the Plateau, of the Handbook of North American Indians states that Celilo Falls, Oregon, is a place of significance to many Plateau groups (1998). For example, Sahaptin place names at Celilo Falls often refer to mythological and ritual figures (Frey and Hymes 1998). Celilo was a major trade and salmon dipnet fishing locale. It was also the locus of a trade patois known as Chinook Jargon, an amalgamation of local Native dialects and signs and, later, English. Celilo is now entombed beneath the man-made lakes of the Columbia River. The folks bearing witness to this testimony are passengers (almost all over the age of 65) on the 7-day, 1,000 mile paddle wheel boat ride along the Columbia and Snake Rivers called "The Queen of the West." Originating out of Portland, the overnight passenger stern wheeler travels through eight dams on the course of the journey. Their day in Pendleton starts with a "Real West" experience in town at the Round-Up and then they head to TCI for lunch, tours and an Indian dance performance.

The tourism aspect of historical interpretation - how to make money, economic development impacts, essential services – are all being analyzed by the Tribes, with the known caveat that tourism creates local problems for a community if they are not careful. Their hopes and goals are to achieve much through this tourism without creating additional stresses for the people who live there. Stresses are not confined to the possible congestion, pollution or altering of the Native landscape to accommodate development. Another stress factor pertains to the question of whether Tamástslikt may sell these products based upon cultural knowledge such as the Counting Book described above.

Tribal approval as a whole is neither guaranteed nor fully attainable given the diversity of the Tribes. Authenticity and sustainable tourism are taking place at Tamástslikt and the effort to make it "real" or better yet, perhaps, as close to a fuller story as possible when developing it, allows the place to come alive with information. The next steps being considered are historic re-enactments that recreate historical conflicts. Whether or not they are a productive way to teach tribal history is still under consideration.

Bringing the Old Ones Home

As described in chapter 2 in the excerpt from fieldnotes, in April of 2001, I traveled with tribal members to witness a repatriation reburial. At the time, I was also involved in learning longhouse ways and the ceremonies held there. My extensive fieldnotes in that period were revealing and allow me to summarize the events leading up to the reburial. The previous Friday, I was talking to Marjorie Waheneka, who manages curations at Tamástslikt, about interviewing her on repatriation and she suggested I go with Armand on Tuesday because a reburial based on an inadvertent (meaning unintended or accidental) unearthing was to take place. Her husband, Armand Minthorn, is head of the cultural resources commission and oversees reburials in that capacity and as a religious leader for the Tribes. She also asked me to cook at the longhouse on Saturday for a memorial. There were three ceremonies taking place that day. One was a naming for a man who had many recent deaths in his family. He was to take the name of his relative who died a year ago. Then the Shippentower family had a memorial giveaway for their father who had just passed away, because they need to keep fishing,

since it is their business. They gave bundles to the cooks as part of their giveaway and I received one. I served in the traditional manner, confusing the order of the traditional foods somewhat. I danced with the other cooks as part of the ceremonial serving.

I asked Armand afterwards about accompanying him on Tuesday. He said to ask Diana La Sarge from the Cultural Resources Protection Program. I called her Monday and she said she remembered me from the article announcing my arrival in the Confederated Umatilla Journal (the CUJ) and she was wondering when I would get around to talking to her. We left at 7 a.m. from the tribal offices in a government rig. I was not told where we were going. Diana is a friendly, non-boistrous middle aged non-Indian woman. She is an archaeologist who works for the Tribes and a founder of the CRPP with a charismatic tribal member named Jeff Van Pelt. CRPP is a tribally-run cultural resource management or CRM program and employs contract archaeologists (mostly non-Indians) and trained technicians who are all tribal members.

Tribal elder Fermore Craig was with us too. He is a traditional man in his 60's, also on the cultural resource commission, and of Nez Perce descent. He was one of the group of young men who revived the seven drum religion on the reservation in the late 1960's. He is a veteran and was stationed in Germany. It was quiet on the drive out. We took Interstate 82 northwest and crossed over the Columbia River into Washington state, heading towards the Tri-Cities, a large boomtown of three smaller towns that all cropped up during the Cold War due to their proximity to the Hanford Nuclear Reservation. They are located at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia Rivers, a traditionally densely populated region for Native peoples before the treaties. One of the three, Kennewick, is now also known for the skeleton found within its city limits.

As Armand attempted to reach people on his cellular phone, Fermore pointed out the hills that were just across from the Umatilla Army Depot (notable for the small uniform mounds of buried chemical weapons, mostly nerve gas). We were still on ancestral ceded lands of the Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Cayuse. Fermore told a story of those hills, about a girl long ago who was out digging roots with her elders. She had very keen eyesight and saw a man's head approaching from a mile away. It was an oncoming raid. She alerted the older women and they ran away before the men could capture them. Fermore pointed out the direction the women ran in. It is common, I later found, for elders to tell stories of the landscape to younger generations while on driving trips. A common role for a grandchild is to become the driver to one of their elders. Many stories get passed down these days in cars, through repetition and the good fortune of having a captive audience.

I still had no idea where we were going but Diana said it was not far. We passed Bechtel Labs where Kennewick Man was first housed, and other Department of Energy facilities. Then we stopped on DOE marked land and walked out to an area where Native vegetation plants were being restored. Approximately 8 to 10 people from the Wanapam Band were there. The Wanapam are a non-federally recognized tribe from Priest Rapids (which nearly borders Hanford) and are relations to the other Columbia River Tribes, Yakama and Warm Springs to the west, Walla Walla, Umatilla, Cayuse to the southeast, and Nez Perce and Palouse to the east and northeast.

We shook their hands and said good morning. There were also two other women present, one in the van and one with a shovel. A deep, square-shaped hole was already dug, which was about six feet deep and 4 x 4, not the size of a regular cemetery grave,

but smaller. Four shovels stuck out of a mound of dirt to the side. A few of the Wanapam men split four pieces of wood. A revered elder headman of the Wanapam named Bobby Tamalwash led the ceremony. He was very slight, his body apparently crippled from diabetes, and he relied heavily on a cane. The ceremonial speech was in Columbia River Sahaptan. He spoke in English as well, saying (and I paraphrase here) that before this Manhattan Project came along, they were the only ones here. It was their home. Then other people (and tribes) started coming around because of the money. They heard they could get money. They still come around because of money. And his people never even got a grant. They've been protecting the ancestors the whole time and they are still protecting, and he's getting tired of it.

Then the man in the center rang the bell and all the men sang a *waashat* (religious) prayer song. Armand told Diana and me to stand on the other side of the dirt mound, like in the longhouse, with women on one side of the sacred ground or the "wash," and men on the other. He spoke in a mixture of Nez Perce and Columbia River Sahaptan. I recognized a few words such as *tetoken* and *suyapo* (meaning 'Indian' and 'white person') and gathered that he was talking about the relationship between Indians and the white man. At the completion of the song, the man with the bell continued to ring it slowly and lightly as another man jumped into the hole. Two other men handed him things from a file sized box marked "NAGPRA items.' The first thing out of the box was a skull. It was rust/brown in color. Then came bones, many bones: I recognized a pelvis bone and a jaw bone, and then small plastic bags filled with smaller bones and material. He placed them all specifically in the grave. I could not see exactly how, but it looked to be placed in skeletal form, on its side with the knees up, in traditional burial

position. He painstakingly opened each baggie, carefully. Then when the elder man approved, he jumped out and four diggers were told to “fill the hole and move quickly”. They worked fast. Then they put one of the split wood pieces at the end of the grave, as if to mark it but not permanently. One man raked the grave until it was all even ground. More *wasshat* songs were sung. Upon the last, we turned in one full circle, with the right hand lifted up and to the heart, as a prayer to the four directions. While this reburial was taking place, three Department of Energy officials stayed back by the cars. We walked back to our rig and our group of four dabbed our hands, faces and hair with rose water that we brought along in a plastic milk jug. This act was a spiritual cleansing that takes place whenever one comes into contact with death.

We then went to a meal hosted by the Department of Energy at the Red Lion’s “Hanford House” restaurant. A young man of about 25 named John sat next to me. Fermore sat on my other side, then Diana, then Armand, and the rest were seated in a horseshoe around. Bobby Tamalwash sat across from me and peered in my direction as I spoke to his grandson, John at length. John was living in Priest Rapids (the non-federally recognized homeland of the Wanapam Band of Columbia River Indians) and attending college part time at Central Washington University nearby in Ellensburg, Washington. He’s been trained as an archaeology tech and does cultural resource monitoring work for his people. He wants to go to Cornell and study Indian law. He studied archaeology and went to two field schools with graduate students and got A’s on his abstracts. At one field school on Mt. Rainier, he found an arrowhead in his pit. He was struck by it and felt strange as if there was a bad energy attached to it, as if the arrow wasn’t used for hunting but in war. He was taught by his elders to trust his instincts. The others in the field

school didn't know about this "sensitivity" and he said they were just psyched for him. The professor used him to teach the others about the Native sensitivity issue. But he said he didn't like archaeology because he's against disturbing things. He also asked about my schooling and fieldwork. He used to dance 'fancy,' then quit and went wild a bit. If he wants to dance again, he said, he will have to have a giveaway. He is eating right and losing weight in preparation.

Then Bobby Tamalwash spoke. He said he was glad to see young people there. He spoke of how Indians need to stay together and Indian men need to stay with their own kind and not marry white women. Indians need to know who they are and they will lose that if they co-mingle with whites too much -- their history, identity, and what they stand for. He said his grandson has a white girlfriend and he is against that, even though his grandson told him there are only white and Mexican women in their area to date. Bobby said education is good. Indians need education to get jobs, but going around with white women is bad. I could not help but think that his speech was somehow for my benefit and a reaction to seeing me converse with his grandson over lunch. To my relief, Fermore changed the subject. He said what they had done today was good and the returned person could go back on his journey now. Afterwards, he looked at me and smiled as if to say, don't worry, we don't all feel that way. I smiled back and whispered thanks.

According to John, the bones were covered quickly so they would not have to linger. It was out of respect to treat the bones like one would want to be treated in that situation. Also, the bones were covered with a woven tule reed mat before the dirt was put back. The grave site was on DOE managed land. The remains would be protected

from looters, were in a central location among the affiliated tribes, and went back to the earth as near as possible to where they were unearthed.

The reburial that we witnessed on that day took place on Department of Energy land after much negotiation, so that not one reservation or tribe could lay sole claim to it and it would be protected or managed effectively. According to Diana, the repatriation process took so long because the affiliated tribes were in conflict over it, which would explain why the Yakima representatives did not show up to the reburial in protest. Their wishes, to rebury the remains closer to the river and closer to them, were not adhered to and a negotiated solution resulted. She continued that NAGPRA is often easy to contest because each situation is different. The law cannot be simply and generally applied.

On the return trip to the reservation, we drove past upscale new housing developments. Fermore pointed to two tall, barren hills just behind the developments and told me a coyote story about those hills. He said one of the hills used to say that he was the only great hill, with beautiful trees, plants, flowers, animals and water. Then the other hill said that he was the only one. And then coyote took away all of their beauty, leaving them bare because they were conceited and bragging. I asked Fermore what coyote would say about the multi-story mansions creeping up those hills today. He answered me with a prophecy story about the ribbons of light, referring to the coming of non-Indians and the mass population that would move around in the time of industrialization. They will travel on ribbons of light, as the story professes, referring to headlights on a highway or the coming of the railroad.

The rest of the journey home was taken up with more stories from Fermore, beginning with a story of why crows are black. They rolled in the fire ash, he told me, to

mark the event in time when the buffalos left and they had to go find them and bring them back. Passing the town of Echo, he then told me a story about men from nearby McKay Creek who ran naked from the sweathouse to chase the enemy away. He also told me about the people who took horses down to Tyree, Oregon, where a ranch is now, where they gambled and raced. They stopped going to this place in the 1930's quite suddenly, because it was considered trespassing on forest lands. Finally, he spoke of his teepees at Round-Up, which are the tallest ones there.

A Conversation on Changing While Remaining the Same

In July of 2001, I interviewed religious leader and Board of Trustees member Armand Minthorn while he was serving at the time on the National Committee on Repatriation. In much of his discourse, he folds the Tribes' repatriation successes into a larger picture of overall economic success, much of this being due to the steady casino revenues they now enjoy. His words indicate that economic success can be seen directly in social progress for the Tribes. In the following pages, I will intermittently analyze excerpts from this conversation.

> …The past six to eight years have been very positive in that our economics are strengthened so much. …we now have better health care, we offer better and more educational opportunities, we have increased housing, and our unemployment rate is almost cut in half. Unemployment is of course still there but overall, our economics have been strengthened and that's a change. A lot of our tribal members who have moved off reservation now are coming back because there's more here for them whereas in the past, there was hardly anything here. The unemployment rate was almost 75% and there was no housing, no education [Karson interview transcript of Armand Minthorn, 7/2001].

As he continues, tribal policies and politics seem to be a natural outgrowth of that social and economic development. In essence, economic growth has leveled the playing field in local negotiations with neighboring forces and has also reinforced their government to government relationships. The following discourse reveals this continuity of change that finally allows the Tribes to realize a dream of natural resource recovery.

> …With the revenues that we've generated from the casino, we've been able to increase all of those essential services to our tribal members. And we've been able to strengthen all of our tribal programs, which offer services to those members. Also, within the tribal government, we've been able to enhance our programs and because of that, we've been able to have more of a voice with federal agencies and local governments about our treaty rights and our sovereignty. The Umatilla Basin project is a good example. The tribes have worked over fifteen years on the Umatilla Basin project, to get water back in the river. And the biggest hurdle was the irrigators. There was an agreement worked out with the irrigators, cities, counties, federal agencies. They all agreed to put water back into the Umatilla River. That way the tribes can strengthen the existing steelhead runs that have always been there, Native runs, but also now, the tools are there to establish our salmon runs, which we have done [Karson interview transcript of Armand Minthorn, 7/2001].

An analysis of the language used in this interview unveils a necessity to find logistical strategies to accomplish goals, such as in the use of the term, 'tools.' Those goals were always present but eluded the Tribes prior to the culmination of the aforementioned social, economic and political progress. The ultimate goal: to reclaim, perpetuate, and preserve what has always been there but has been severely threatened.

> …And because of our economics, we've been able to enhance the efforts that were already there with the Umatilla Basin project. We've been able to strengthen our programs, which in turn, enhanced the habitat, enhanced our capabilities with local governments, and the return this year in the Umatilla River, we had over 200,000 chinooks return. So, that's an example of our economics and the

> strengthening of our capabilities through the casino. And not only were we able to do that but now we're enhancing our language programs. And through the language programs, we're giving tools to our language for increasing our capabilities with other traditions and customs that have lessened. They haven't gone away. They've just been lessened because of lack of Indian language and now, because we're strengthening our programs, we're able to increase and strengthen our traditions and customs. And that's what a lot of people don't understand [Karson interview transcript of Armand Minthorn, 7/2001].

Attempting to get at exactly what Armand claims "a lot of people don't understand" is elusive and would be presumptuous of me to attempt to fully ascertain. However, what seems to be emphasized here is the link between natural resource recovery and cultural resource recovery. This interconnectedness between tribal programs and tradition and customs must be renewed and strengthened in order to combat the invasive social ills that have come with, and are directly related to, contact.

> …Since the fur traders times to today, things have changed with each generation. And my generation is no different. It seems that my generation today is getting further away from what my ancestors did before me in that our language is spoken less, there are traditions and customs that have been completely forgotten, we're getting away from our foods. And it seems that those problems with alcoholism and diabetes just steadily increased as the changes started with each generation. One of the contributing factors of us having high instances of those diseases is because we're going away from our foods [Karson interview transcript of Armand Minthorn, 7/2001].

Yet laying blame elsewhere seems counter-productive. His language then turns towards the inclusive, reaching out to non-Indians in a way that will bring them in to the tent, as it were. Emphasizing that we all pray to the same God is a statement often repeated in the tribal Longhouse when substantial numbers of non-Indians are present. Part of the aspect of managing change is managing the relationship between Indians and non-Indians and

the longer those non-Indians rely on outside representations for their knowledge of these Tribes, the longer the pervasive stereotypes and misunderstandings will endure.

> …The Indian religion isn't any better than anyone else's. Like my grandma always told me, all the religions that are here, they all have one God, just like we worship one Creator. So it doesn't matter what faith you follow, they all have the same purpose, to worship one God. That's what we do. A lot of people don't understand that we worship that way. They think that we're pagans, we're heathens. Because of the misconception of the Indians on the Plains, white people think all Indians are the same. And as long as the majority of non-Indians have that idea, they'll never understand. They'll never come to know who we really are. There are some white people like yourself that go that extra, that make that extra effort, to know and to actually do what we do. And as long as there's people like you folks, it'll be a slow progression, but it will happen eventually…that myth will be shattered. With the majority of non-Indians that are out there that continue to tell me that I receive a monthly check from the government every year, that I crossed a land bridge, that because of our casino too, [it's unfair] that we still get monthly payments from the government and from the casino, and that 'you Indians are rich.' I hear that all the time. Just like any economics, any government, any city, any community, you have to make a lot of sacrifices to gain something. And we're no different. Our economics is only at the level it is because we've made so many investments and we have to pay those investments back just like you do everything else and we've had a price to pay for the economics that we have now. And we're still paying for it and we're gonna pay for it umpteen years from now. Nothing's free and clear here [Karson interview transcript of Armand Minthorn, 7/2001].

Those investments are spurning economic diversity, which partially allows for a tribal museum on the reservation. Tamástslikt is then different from other non-Native institutions elsewhere in that it can serve as a catalyst for reviving traditions that accompany the artifacts being returned. Just like the Omaha sacred pole contributes meaning in a modern context and is a symbol of tribal identification for their cultural group (even though the Omaha have yet to build a museum), repatriation has led to many

tribal museums which in turn, for the CTUIR, will lead to other forms of cultural perpetuation.

> …You know, eventually, the repatriations that we're gonna make with NAGPRA, a lot of the items that will be given back will be instruments and artifacts that have been missing from our way of life….A good example comes from the Navajo people. Last year, they received back some sacred items from the Smithsonian that now allow them to continue traditions that were lacking from their lifestyle because those artifacts were missing. And this is the same kind of opportunity that we have in future repatriations. We're gonna have tools and artifacts that have been missing that will allow us to have the capacity to continue with some traditions that haven't been practiced or maintained….It's just like opening a book. One thing just leads to another. It's just like a domino effect. And it's gonna go full circle. And just like anything else, one thing can affect, can have an affect on something else, and so on and so on and so on…Our old people here tell us and continue to tell us that it is in recognizing our mother nature, with signs. As an example, last year, right down the road about two miles between some tribal members' houses, in the evening time, during summer, they seen a cougar running between the houses. Our old people tell us, you know, things like that, that our environment or our world or our mother nature is changing because of signs like that. Our foods, the water, the air, everything's all connected to each other. And when you're having an effect, or something is affected within that chain, it goes. And everything is affected in one way or another. If our water is effected or lessened, it's gonna have an effect on everything [Karson interview transcript of Armand Minthorn, 7/2001].

There is a learning curve, Armand explains, in the repatriation process. Tribes are learning from each other and working collectively on each other's behalf to bring about change in the dominant system perpetuated by museums over indigenous peoples in the past. This is accomplished through the successful restoration of traditional objects.

> …The Hopi have had an impression on me, how patient and tolerant they are. They anticipated a repatriation from the Smithsonian, some sacred items and the Smithsonian asked them how would you use these objects and the Hopi told them we can't disclose that kind of information to you. These are sacred ceremonies that we can't talk about. And then the Smithsonian says well then we can't give them back. So the Hopi, in their humble ways, kept sending delegations to the Smithsonian and they would talk. They would send letters. They sent letters to

> their congressmen and their senators and they just kept doing that. They didn't get angry. They just kept persisting. And eventually the Smithsonian did give them back to them, but without the Hopi having to disclose how they would use them. And that put the Hopi in a very awkward position. But they did get them back. You know that's the kind of situations that are out there with other tribes as well.

Asking for that cultural information on the part of the Smithsonian appears to be an extension of wanting to remain in control. Why is it that the Smithsonian is able to let go of and release the objects only if they have the cultural knowledge about those objects prior to their release? Why do anthropologists there have to insist that they need to record in a manner of salvage anthropology? The Smithsonian and other institutions may still see a need for this but elsewhere, it doesn't seem as necessary anymore. A new generation of anthropologists, mostly led by the consciousness of tribes or Native anthropologists, look at their own anthropological communities and see now that it is not our place to expressly know. It is more important perhaps for cultural property to stay within their proper community and become whole again in situ. We can trust that tribes are capable of interpreting those objects to outsiders however they choose. The outmoded way of thinking described by Armand to be still attached to the Smithsonian seems to be a last gasp of a political act in the repatriation dance between institutions and tribes.

> …I think it's evident to everyone as well, in the Ancient One case, along with Spirit Cave Man case, there is a movement among professionals that acknowledge that the tribes do have a legitimate interest and that tribes' consideration for ancestral remains has to be a factor. There are professionals now that are saying, these ancestral remains aren't artifacts. They are human beings. So there is that movement out there that's growing among professionals…We've been told over and over by our older people that you never handle ancestral remains. You never handle artifacts without cleaning them. And you always clean yourself. One of the biggest tests that has been about the Ancient One is…these remains are listening to us. All the work, the songs, the words are all being listened to by these remains. They tell us, if you have any angry words, any cross words, any

> strong language about these remains, you're gonna get further away. You'll get further away. This has been one of the biggest tests with this because non-Indians challenge us and continue to challenge us and criticize us and flagrantly demoralize us as a tribe, our culture, our language, all of that, and it's getting to be a truly big test not to respond. Now I've caught myself at times doing that…responding in anger to non-Indians and I'll pay for that. I'll pay for it. I will [Karson interview transcript of Armand Minthorn, 7/2001].

You have to be careful with your words, he tells me. But if so, how does one relate to the non-Indian who doesn't necessarily know that, I wonder aloud to him. To explain it, don't you have to communicate? What would you want to impart in an instance like this, I ask him. But before answering, I know and answer that I guess in the times that you don't communicate, silence is a form of communication. It is not as important that Indians and non-Indians understand each other completely. It may not even be possible. What they can do is attempt to take care of each other in ways that allow them to take care of themselves in the process. Armand nods ands sums it up in this way:

> …All the Indians here, we're all related to each other. We share the same language. We all share the same foods. We share the same religion. But most of all we all share the same blood and that's what makes us all related to each other and yet for us it's just part of our Indian life. And we all share the loss. How can you have so many aunts and uncles and grandpas as extended family? Indians don't have first, second, third and fourth cousins. Your cousin is your cousin. My cousin is my brother and my sister and their children are my nieces and nephews. My dad's cousin is my uncle. My grandmother's cousin is my grandfather and my grandmother. It's all extended family. That's how we can have so many aunts, uncles, brothers and sisters [Karson interview transcript of Armand Minthorn, 7/2001].

In peeling back the layers of the community, corporation, or institution that is the entity known as the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, one finds relations in the broadest sense, an extended family with all of the tensions and dissensions that are

implied therein. Lying just beneath that first layer is a well established kinship system that comprises a web of people living and working among neighbors and simultaneously among kin.

Reconciliation and Change

In this chapter, I hope to have shown through examples from my fieldwork and other theoretical inroads how managing change on this reservation, in the neighboring community, and through the cultural institute is complex and involves a multitude of contact, interaction and negotiation. I chose not to focus on the larger economic, political, and legal factors that have been the impetus for much of the change that the tribal organization and reservation have undergone on a macro level. My intent in this was to not overshadow the sociocultural and sociopolitical effects that I observed among and between Tamástslikt staff, other tribal members, the non-Native public, and myself in the museum setting and elsewhere where repatriation models were being enacted.

I explored the issue of control in this chapter as a mechanism for unpacking the outwardly seeming homogenous nature of the institute and the Tribes. I analyzed control as a factor in my personal role and in the collaborative ethnographic model I followed. While anthropologists have many voices, I did not intend mine to be overly authoritative. I strove to distinguish my voice from those within the institute and other voices within the tribe. Whether my role will be judged as collaborative, applied, activist, or advocacy, I made every effort not to be heard as hegemonic, but rather as unique. I do not consider myself a spokesperson for the Tribes nor for the cultural institute, for this would, at its

base, be counteractive to the goal of tribal self-representation. I nevertheless am often in the position of representing those in the process of self-representation which presents a need for the following reconciliation on my part. The views and conclusions detailed in this dissertation are wholly mine but the fieldwork and ongoing research entails working towards the same goals together. In this sense, control was in my hands for the writing of this dissertation and in tribal hands during fieldwork and post-fieldwork projects, a model for collaboration that differs from that of Luke Eric Lassiter, who would have the drafts read, commented upon, and altered by the collaborative informants at his field site, including them in the writing process throughout (Lassiter 2001). It is also different from Foley's inclusion of comments on drafts of his work (Foley 1995). While co-authoring is part of collaboration in other cases and was the case in projects I worked on with the Tribes, certain constraints existed in my case in that no one co-authored this dissertation.

While elements of control rested with me, this work is still part of the tribal project of self-representation. Tribal members do not read my drafts as a matter of course although drafts were made available to various people. Instead, due to my close proximity to the site of study during the writing phase, opportunities arose for much discussion of the subject matter. When a particular individual wished to make a point regarding my views, it was often communicated to me in the form of a story or an analogy. In this way, a way of life and worldview were imparted to me by teaching through storytelling. My availability has been crucial to this process as I was in the position of never having left the site of study. Seen in this light, the Confederated Tribes controlled the research done on them simply by keeping the researcher close at hand.

Managing change also takes place through acts of reconciliation. I found predicaments and contradictions to be fundamental in working through and enacting a tribal worldview. This was not a homogenous worldview, but one which was constantly coming into being in the present through a negotiation of the past. Bringing these conflicts and tensions to light does not diminish the internal dynamic, but shows instead and more accurately, the spectrum of perspectives that come into play on a daily basis. Douglas Foley places this tension within the notion of the cultural borderland, following other borderlands theorists in understanding it as a psychological space at the conjuncture of two cultures, allowing for a contradictory historical situation in which complex cultural identities are produced (1995:119). This cultural borderland however is also a political space in which ethnic groups actively fuse and blend their culture with that of the mainstream culture. If this is so, then assimilation can be seen as an active process of changing while preserving traditional cultural ways at the same time. Foley asserts that this dynamic and less fixed notion of culture helps present a more accurate representation of the changes he came to understand in Mesquaki culture, and highlights how one young Mesquaki described his culture as "a living thing" in that it was changing and adapting as it was also persisting and enduring.

The tribal longhouse leader of the Umatilla Tribes also uses a progressive discourse, often stating, "We are doing the best we can" in his assertions to continue traditions and ceremonies. They may no longer be practiced exactly how they were done in the past but more importantly, the drive and persistence to continue the practice even as it subtly evolves remains. Among the Mesquakie, tribal progressives extol the adoption of new practices with a discourse of renewal where traditionalists employ a

discourse of decline, Foley explains (1995). From this healthy tension and dialogue springs an ever shifting cultural consensus.

Repatriation is also embodied in the way people relocate themselves in relation to the material. The active negotiation of history and culture can be contentious and contestable, opening a door for rejection of Tamástslikt as a project. So writing about dissent was critical to portraying accurate and ethical responses. But rather than presenting dissension as an anonymous trope, contextualization is a necessary component in representing those views. As I recorded their concerns, I took care not to speak for them but with them, creating a text that highlights and includes a variety of responses. With this, I hope to have shown more respect for the community by not painting them as homogenous.

Chapter 6: Conclusion – Back to the Future

> In spite of the course of history over the past 200 years, the Confederated Tribes survive. Their voices and collective memories, the objects of their culture and their history are a mirror to the vitality of their lifeway and the consequences of major events in American history. The pioneer generation passed on, settled and changed. The Indians endured. The age-old cadences of their life echo through their thoughts, actions and words. They are a present link to the past and a player in current and future affairs. Their world is unique and a reflection of the diversity of the human experience [excerpt, *Master Plan, Oregon Trail on the UIR Interpretive Institute*, 1992].

The project of self-representation taking place at Tamástslikt Cultural Institute is a study in practice. Most early repatriation scholarship details the dilemmas of archaeologist's, collector's, and museum practices or policies towards Native American objects and artifacts. Once seen by many in the indigenous community solely as colonialist enterprises of the past or as elite urban institutions, the museum community now includes tribal museums such as this one, in which the tables have turned towards an appropriation of the dominant representational form, with a rejuvenation of sovereign power through self-representation as the result. Richard Hill Sr. speaks of how identity is regenerated for tribes undergoing repatriation processes. "Culture is, indeed, more than objects, but for may Native American nations, there are certain objects that are essential to manifesting that culture (Hill Sr. 2001: 127). While NAGPRA was the final resort for Native Americans at the time, Hill, who is a member of the Iroquois Confederacy, now sees it as a new beginning: "Repatriation became the process through which we sought to reconnect with the ideals presented in those objects and reclaim authority over them" (Hill Sr. 2001: 129).

The fundamental question in the repatriation process asks if 'return' can ever be uncomplicated in a landscape of contact and pre-existing established relations. The example of local and regional ties that encompass nearly all fundamental acts associated with repatriation involve "baggage" of a personal and historical nature. The local tradition of Round-Up reifies a 'cowboys and Indians' romanticism in a 'wild west' environment. By instituting tribal culture in a structured space and place, historical representations can be claimed and managed, and diverse perspectives on history can be established. I witnessed many examples of the reclamation of stereotypes and representations on personal and collective levels, such as the individual tribal member who dons the image of Chief Wahoo and the many families who partake in the Happy Canyon pageant.

This project explores how history, as it pertains to this tribal group, involves the process of knowledge production. Michel Trouillot reminds us that history is no longer seen as a product of a fixed past (Trouillot 1995). This is true for the Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Cayuse Tribes, who actively retell their history in an alternative and counter-hegemonic context to that of the Anglo-European version of the western frontier. They make use of the western ideal of the romantic Native American to suit their own benefit. By facing the dominant paradigm, they maneuver within its boundaries and in so doing, reclaim it as their own. This occurs in the exhibits and daily operations of the tribal museum and also functions in the larger community in which the Tribes take part. For example, while the Tribes participate in the Happy Canyon pageant, they are also now responsible for much of its changes towards a politically correct and more historically informed script. The Tribes' resort tourism also partakes in the ironic. Billboards for

Tamástslikt Cultural Institute feature Tonto and the Lone Ranger and read, “Experience our *real* culture,” a play on the town motto of “the real west.” The “real west” is a claim that there are *real* cowboys and *real* Indians still here on the landscape and that one only need to attend Round-Up to see this for oneself. But at Round-Up, one would actually witness rodeo cowboys and tribal people living in teepees and performing in traditional regalia -- at Happy Canyon, parading on horseback, or dancing in the arena. While the regalia, traditional dance, and horse culture are all very real and enduring tropes for the Native community, they are not necessarily part of the daily existence for all tribal members. When Round-Up is over, the rodeo cowboys go back on the circuit and the tribal people return to their jobs and lives.

Inherent in these reclaimed stereotypes is a survival identity which is expressed, represented, and managed in a variety of ways. The Confederated Tribes seek freedom from poverty, from enforced provincialism induced by the reservation system, from cultural changes not of their own choosing, and from external representations of them that have been out of their control. They seek freedom from the trauma of historic victimization by owning that trauma outright. Self-representation and economic renewal accomplish this task in part, even when the stereotypes are reproduced for commercial purposes. Not unlike the incorporation of European fashion into tribal dress among early contact groups, the Indian dandies of bygone days exhibited a confluence of appropriations that can be seen to persist in the present, many of which the Tribes cautiously accept. Daily life shows evidence more in line with a people whose identities are politically and historically made, rather than as cultural givens found only in self-enclosed communities.

Linking Past with Present in Commemorative Space

In its exhibit space, this tribal museum creates a living memorial of resistance against earlier museum representations and dioramas depicting a romanticized version of the western past. The work being done at the tribal museum/cultural center level, for example, Tamástslikt, is a public and private enterprise meant to educate, inform and serve the public and its own community while being run by the Tribes. It takes the old museum and turns it over, breathing new life into an old legacy. Taking control however does not imply that all of the issues attached to that legacy are resolved, nor does it assume self-representation presents a right representation over a wrong one. For instance, the CTUIR use interest in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial to reach out and fill in the gaps about America's Native people and rearrange the priorities in the telling of that story. "I think of the bicentennial as an opportunity to change the way people think," according to Tamástslikt director, Roberta “Bobbie” Conner. Through a purposed retelling of the Lewis and Clark journey, she wants all Americans to appreciate the loss of entire American Indian civilizations, as well as the loss of landmarks such as the Great Falls of the Missouri in Montana and Celilo Falls on the Columbia River at The Dalles, Oregon. In her words: "Those losses are not just Native American losses; they are losses for everyone. The 1855 Treaty, however, is a document that is very much alive in its protections as well as in its challenges. We saw a chance to do some things under the treaty and in observing the bicentennial that would have lasting value, and that would serve the Tribes forever to educate our own people and visitors about our history and

culture." Marking the anniversary of the treaty was an opportunity to set the record straight, but rather than determining right from wrong, commemorations such as these would be done in a manner that invited people to simply learn more of the lesser told story the first time around. The following are examples of 'projects with purpose' that also attempted this at Tamástslikt during my research period:

Homeland Heritage Corridor: One way to encourage a fresh view on history would be to make a new map so people could see the land differently. This project laid out a trail, called the Homeland Heritage Corridor, on a regional map with Indian place names and historic sites from La Grande, Oregon, to Walla Walla, Washington. The map of the trail showed the traditional homeland of the three tribes as it was before the coming of Lewis and Clark. The map used Lewis and Clark's route through the area as an anchor. It included tribal homelands between Tucannon River and Willow Creek and features such sites as Whitman Mission, Fort Walla Walla, Hat Rock State Park and Fort Henrietta. The Tribes printed 300,000 copies of the map and distributed them throughout the region in advance of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial commemorative events.

Living Culture Village: This project is a traditional village constructed adjacent to the institute. The village allows visitors and tribal members to experience a way of life that few non-Indians have seen. The $200,000 installation features an Indian longhouse and activities such as salmon drying and smoking, hemp cordage making, storytelling, basket- and tule-mat weaving, hide tanning and smoking, drumming, horsemanship and clothing design. Language immersion is also a goal of the village project. The Tribes are making

their languages a prominent part of outreach to the public. People will hear the languages spoken in the village and the languages will also be interpreted in some cases, which will help take some of the mystery out of the Tribes' ways.

Tribal History Book and Sahaptian Place Name and Ethnogeographic Atlas: Along with the map, Tamástslikt is developing an atlas with American Indian place names and completed a history book featuring writings by several tribal authors. The history book begins with ancient teachings and moves through early contacts with explorers, wars and treaties, assimilation and reorganization, the beginnings of modern tribal governance, self-determination and sovereignty, and hopes for the future. The place names atlas is an extensive meditation on the land that once belonged to the Tribes. The intent is for people to understand that regardless of who owns the 6.5 million acres, it is still a homeland.

Bobbie Conner connects all of these projects and the tribal homeland to a reinterpretation of Lewis and Clark: "It's a place Lewis and Clark arrived at and traveled through for two weeks 200 years ago; that's it. They came through and went back through. We had some significant trade and contact. They practiced some medicine. There was information exchanged. But the real story that endures is the state of the life-giving land and water. That's what remains in the center of the story we want to tell." Documenting the Native names for places can also tell this story. Those who came later spoke a different language, either tried to translate the given Native names for places, or renamed them entirely. The context behind the Native history being told from the Native perspective incorporates this world view in some fashion. The Atlas project will

contribute to contemporary scholarship on the significance of place as a basis for personal and community identity, a topic of profound concern to anthropologists, geographers, psychologists, and historians. Documenting in detail indigenous environmental knowledge embodied in Native language vocabularies plays a key role in the efforts of indigenous communities around the world to establish their right to continue to exist as distinct peoples. Indigenous place names – in contrast to colonial geographic vocabularies – are "traditional," i.e., collective creations transmitted orally over many generations. Furthermore, they often make explicit how local peoples experienced the particular sites named (Basso 1990, Hunn 1990, Thornton 1998). Comparisons of indigenous with settler place name systems illustrate fundamental historical differences in how people relate to the land. Not least, place names provide a powerful pedagogical tool for tribal efforts to save indigenous languages from extinction. The present project is part of a concerted effort by the CTUIR to rescue the languages of the three component tribes of the Umatilla Reservation: the Umatilla and Walla Walla dialects of Sahaptian and the Cayuse (virtually extinct) and Nez Perce languages spoken by the Cayuse Tribe, all of which are critically endangered**.** The atlas will analyze and standardize the semantic structure of the place names, plot their locations, and evaluate the cultural and ecological significance of each place for the "traditional owners." In addition to its language documentation and formidable knowledge base, the atlas is certainly a project with a purpose of asserting tribal cultural sovereignty upon the landscape.

Re-Claiming the Sovereign Self in a Tribally Authored Context

Establishing sovereignty has much to do with self-representation and claiming authority over interpretations of the Native past, present and future. It is not necessarily about establishing a correct version of events over an incorrect one, but rather imparting a message of authority over one's own belief system. Commemorative moments are being used as vehicles to accomplish this task, to allow space for the message to be repeated and reinforced. One such message is that of the importance of salmon as a cultural resource. It is a message which predates any involvement with Lewis and Clark, the treaty negotiators, and all that came after:

> Before there was a European based law here, there was what we call the law of the salmon. Our ancient laws say that when the human and natural world are in conflict, the living beings of the earth will begin to fade. Water was sacred and precious in that the people here believed that every stream, river, and lake sustained the ecological balance of the land. Of all the water life, salmon was the most important. In trade, salmon strengthened the relations among the people. In ceremony, salmon unified the Indian people in life renewal. Our people believed that a protective spirit governed the animal world. In reverence, our hunters ritually cleansed themselves many days before the hunt. In this way, a hunter lived a clean and humane life. Our survival required a close relationship with the animal world. Rabbits, deer, antelope, elk, bear, bighorn sheep, and buffalo gave our people essential food, clothing, and raw material for tools. When we can live by those traditions and customs, then we are fulfilling that law and living by it. So, for us today, when we recognize our foods, we can recognize our ancestors, we can recognize the language. It is all within the same context that we have and teachings that we can live day by day. And the promise that this land made and the promise that we made as Indian people to take care of this land, to take care of the resources and to live by those teachings is the grander principle of the bigger law that was put down on this land when the world began [excerpt from speech by tribal Board of Trustees member and longhouse leader, Armand Mintorhorn, speaking to the Army Corps of Engineers, McNary Dam on the Columbia River, near the mouth of the Umatilla River, March, 2001].

Too often the knowledge imparted in oral form (such as that above) of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation is dismissed as irrelevant. Tribal efforts to improve land management are still met with hostility, usually from individuals and entities less familiar with Native ties to ancestral homelands. To craft meaningful long term solutions that are mutually beneficial, a more widespread understanding of Tribal perspectives and recognition of what has transpired in the last 200 years is desired and taking place. Publishing their history since contact with non-Indians tackled head-on the Tribes' goal of self-representation in the telling of their own story. The creation of a history book provided depth to the interpretive strategies within the public forums in which the Confederated Tribes currently engage. It is no secret that the writing of a tribal history constituted a political act at a time when the commemorative period of Lewis and Clark was being observed. The space was created to explore meanings present at the time of the signing of the 1855 Treaty with the U.S government as well. The hope is that such a book will further establish the Tribes within their traditional territory, provide historical context to the diminishment of the homeland and consequent struggle for sovereign practices. The history book and Native place names atlas now in development together will represent a new institutionalization of the Tribes' historical knowledge. They will provide community members, future generations, and the general public with an official record of history from the perspective of those who have lived it and been shaped by it through earlier generations. No longer will the written record of the Tribes be the intellectual property of others and ultimately, no longer will the written record of others serve as the guidepost for what is valid, authentic, and true for tribal histories.

The Lessons of Politics and the Oral Record

While any early documented historical record for the three Tribes is sparse, handed down from generation to generation is the oral record, which can be traced from as early as circa 1750. These stories contend that Indian people were placed on the earth by the Creator. Archaeological excavations – such as the East Wenatchee Clovis site in Central Washington, which included stone tools composed from agates and chalcedony and the 1996 unearthing of the Ancient One – are conclusive evidence of humans living on the Columbia Plateau at least as early as 10,000 to 12,500 years ago. While the coalition of five tribes, including the Umatilla, Nez Perce, Yakama, Colville, and Wanapam Band, filed a claim for repatriation under NAGPRA, after eight years of litigation, the district court and Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals determined that the Ancient One did not meet the definition of Native American as defined in NAGPRA and therefore was not subject to repatriation. The Native claim to these ancestral remains, however, became a precedent setting, landmark case which ultimately illuminated key terms of NAGPRA and the intent behind the law.

While it was a loss on the level of litigation, much good came of the case. The five tribes involved had never worked closer on any issue and awareness of NAGPRA was raised amongst the federal and state agencies involved. Ultimately, the Kennewick Man saga was not as defining an event in CTUIR history as is the return of the salmon, the Umatilla Basin Project, return of economic viability, the national leadership in Native American issues, and the intergovernmental good will with neighbors on the Columbia River, which has been a tribal practice since earlier traditional times.

There is an uninterrupted continuum present in the mid-Columbia region in the culture and people but there have also been historical consequences. Historically, this is a crossroads of contact. It is a confluence of cultures and rivers and languages and much trade. As the Tribes face the two hundred year anniversary of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the Sesquicentennial of the 1855 Treaty signing with the U.S. government, they no longer look at those dates without looking at the consequences of their effects over time.

Cultural differences in the view of the written treaty are now being recognized. The Indian view of the Treaty was that it was sacred and the United States view was that it was not, and if it is not sacred, then there is no penalty for violating it. That difference remains at the heart of the differing, sometimes embittered, views of treaty interpretation today. Whether these treaties are sacred or not is important in that it leads one to very different outcomes of how one reads them, how one interprets them, what their meaning is, and the significance of that meaning. Cultural difference was obvious in 1855 and it is obvious in the most recent judicial opinions interpreting the Treaties today.

Via my work with the Confederated Tribes and at Tamástslikt, I found a reservation at the crossroads of histories and cultures, engaged in reconciliation and progress through projects with purpose. Marshall Sahlins finds in *Apologies to Thucydides* that western history is the foundation of everyone else's history and what a difference an anthropological concept of culture can make to the writing of history (2004). The last two hundred years of contact with non-Indians is largely historical and each Tribe's history varies as their treaties were upheld or amended. Writing that history has been in the hands of the non-Indian since treaty times and what was written was

sometimes up to the discretion and via the lens of the writer. The 1855 Treaty document is an example in that the minutes of the actual council meetings that took place do not exactly match the written text of the treaty itself.

Blending the Oral and the Written Form

When Tamástslikt Cultural Institute hosted the three major gatherings, or *convocations*, of elders, students and scholars, they were successful and enriching experiences for all who attended. Verbatim transcripts of the events were produced for those who participated and several oral history interviews were conducted as follow-up to the convocations. At the conclusion of these events, all were in agreement with an overwhelming need to document what was learned and to preserve the information for future generations.

Tamástslikt received a staffing grant from the Administration for Native Americans to develop a tribally authored history book that embodies tribal perspectives. The project was envisioned as co-written chapters by tribal members with interest and experience in one of several aspects of the Tribes' history. Contributors would represent a variety of perspectives and backgrounds within the Tribes, in order to allow for the broadest participation in the project. Ideally, contributors represented tribal members of different ages, in order to allow the participation in the history book project to span the generations.

In the past, oral history has not been considered with the same validity as written sources. This project resulted in the tangible record of a written text to be published and

sold. This was a pivotal act during the commemorative periods of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the 1855 Walla Walla Treaty and is consistent with the CTUIR Comprehensive Plan of 1996. Listed in the Plan as objective o., section k., under Cultural Heritage, the stated goal is "to research, compile, and publish a comprehensive history of the Tribes using oral and written sources from a Tribal perspective." The project was also in line with a goal Tamástslikt Cultural Institute has always maintained - to tell their own story.

The tribal history book provides historical context to the diminishment of the homeland and consequent importance of continued sovereign practices. A published text represents a new institutionalization of the Tribes' history that provides local and larger audiences with an official record from the perspective of those who have lived and been shaped by it and one that maintains connective ties to earlier generations and oral traditions. Contributing authors were creating a written record that solidifies the intellectual property of the Tribes and will serve as a guidepost for what is valid, authentic, and true for tribal history.

Tribal members and scholars with a history of working with the Tribes were the contributors. A review committee with a composition similar to that of the authors worked to ensure overall continuity and consensus throughout the narrative. It was not a solo Indian-only writing project that enforced a separation but one that fostered collaboration, exemplifying that the CTUIR doesn't attempt to return to the past but to go on from the present while correcting past unbalances. The relationship of the outside scholar writing Native history is still being carved out but the other extreme is also not valid - that a return to a prior time would be possible without outside influences.

Due to its collaborative nature, it was an ambitious project, yet, as in the development of Tamástslikt and numerous other groundbreaking efforts that the Tribes' have undertaken, working together and by committee has been less of an obstacle and more of a positive challenge in the past. Additionally, the project intent is to result in the concrete outcome of a written text to serve as a platform for open and frank discussion initially cultivated by the earlier convocations and symposiums.

While the Confederated Tribes continue to reclaim their own voice and perspective through a tribally authored context, the question remains, why is it a reclamation project? Does history need to be claimed or reclaimed? There are certainly tangible examples in Indian country where this is so. Most of these are seen clearly in reference to the land. The philosophy of the landscape exists in the Indian languages. In words like *tamánwit*, meaning but not exclusively translated as "Indian natural law." It is a philosophy, as well as a worldview and belief system, but more so the word embodies a description of the structure of life and the relationship to the landscape. *Tamánwit* embodies the people's traditional philosophy, including knowledge and aesthetics as well as ethical, spiritual, and physical elements. The history project timeline begins prior to contact and explains who the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla people were for millennia and how the traditional law of *tamánwit* has carried the people from that time until now, from pictographs, petroglyphs and pit houses to the defense of the Ancient One. The project shows how *tamánwit* continues today in so far as modern laws have not replaced nor taken precedence over the traditional law, which is all encompassing.

Blending Contemporary and Traditional, as Defined and Lived

> …there is a fabric in this community that resembles a quilt that has been obliterated. Parts of the fabric have been obliterated by what's happened to us… it's not so much symptomatic of just Indian culture, cultural breakdown, it's symptomatic of other things, and whatever causes that, is like acid thrown on the quilt. It eats at the outside of us, it affects our community. When we have that patchwork, it allows for accommodation. What happens is, you change – this edge wears out, you put new patches on it. The yarn ties wear out, you tie it again. You know, it's a constant mending process I guess. And the most durable part of the quilt, it's probably not the batting or the stuffing, it's probably where the seams are. And I guess that's the part where I think you know the weak spots, not the part in the middle where it's exposed and it's thin, that's where the symptoms hit the hardest…I think in our old culture, everybody had sort of roles, somebody was the consoler and the comforter. Somebody was a very good teacher. Somebody was a very good provider. Somebody was a very good disciplinarian. But that fabric, that's what I was talking about, I think that's why we retell things and retell things and retell things. Because we're patching it together like that patchwork quilt. So where we have a hole in the culture, like I don't have all of the horsemanship skills that my great grandfather had or my Uncle Norman has or my older ancestors might have had. By the same token, what I use is more modern equestrian practices or theories, deeds, whatever, but it's a blending of old and new [Karson interview transcript of Roberta Conner, 7/2001].

Bobbie has the quilt as a metaphor. Others use the metaphor of having one foot in the traditional world and one in the modern. In both forms, these metaphors explain that the Tribes have maintained a cultural continuity in the face of change on this land for millennia, evidenced through historical retellings. Some elder information has been passed down through many generations, other is more recent. Stories illuminate history, information about the land, the people here and elsewhere, events that took place, and so on. Some stories almost always involve coyote or other animals suggesting how to behave. Some are serious, while others are humorous. But almost all are instructive and are used at Tamástslikt as teaching tools. These individual voices are public messages that stand alone and also represent the collective tribal group to the visiting public and

can be influential back upon the tribal community. The following examples of oral history excerpts have been used in public programs and projects produced at Tamástslikt.

On the understanding of history…

> Cecelia: A good family friend was in the hospital and I went to see him and he said, 'do you know how oral history was really done? And I says, no, not really. So he said, 'Years ago, what they would do, if there was several of them that experienced the same thing, a fight or whatever, they would always sit down and each person would tell their version of what happened, and then the next person would do the same thing and they'd go clear around. And then all of them would put it together the way they thought it actually happened and that was oral history [Tamástslikt interview transcript of Cecelia Bearchum, 9/2001].

> Martha: I've combined reading, oral history with some of the elders, with some of the things that my mother told me and I've put them all together and I've found that – see, when my mother would tell me things, I thought that she was telling me her opinion, but she was not. She was sharing her tribal ways, how they got together and made a decision [Tamástslikt interview transcript of Martha Franklin, 9/2001].

On the return of the salmon…

> Martha: My mother used to tell me that the salmon were so thick that the people could almost walk across the river on the backs of the salmon. And she said when she was young, it used to be the place of the men to ride their horses up the stream, up the river, and club the salmon. And then the women would come behind with sacks and pick up the salmon that had been clubbed. And then they would dry them for the wintertime. And I never thought that I would see that, but about three years ago my husband took me down by the hatchery up at Meacham Creek, and the fish were just thick coming in, trying to get into the hatchery. And there was a little part of the river that came off of the main part of the river, and it was probably about, maybe 15 feet wide and it was just full of salmon. And I just told my husband I never thought I would see what my mother had seen. And I don't know, I was really glad I got to see that. It's just like bringing history back [Tamástslikt interview transcript of Martha Franklin, 9/2001].

While the messages from elders in these and other oral histories are moving and powerful, it is equally important to be cognizant of the responsibilities that accompany gathering, packaging, and disseminating traditional cultural property of this nature. The Tribes themselves are not immune to the conflicts that can arise. Elders have admonished many oral history collectors for interviewing them about the same things multiple times. This is due to lack of communication between tribal programs as well as the multiple grant-driven oral history collection projects that take place as the pool of traditional knowledge holders diminishes. It is presently a priority of the tribal programs to collectively organize and manage the oral information gathered thus far and put protections in place that guard the rights of the interviewees. In essence, these protection policies are not unlike university human subjects review boards. The goal is to preserve, protect, and perpetuate the knowledge found in these verbatim oral stories. However, commercial purposes of tourism can be a dangerous end point for such oral history information. As John Gillis aptly states, "In this era of plural identities, we need civil times and civil spaces more than ever, for these are essential to the democratic processes by which individuals and groups come together to discuss, debate, and negotiate the past, and through this process, define the future" (1994: 20). It is my estimation that with all of its challenges, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute nevertheless holds the promise and goal of embodying such a civil space.

Studying up

To study Native America today could be in many ways considered a project of "studying up", in so far as it pertains to tribal control over outside research. It is no longer appropriate to consider them the marginalized Other if this keeps a hegemonic delineation of them in place (Ziff and Rao 1997). Rather than being concerned with how much is still unknown about the Plateau as an "understudied" region, scholars would be better off to incorporate what is known into what can be learned presently, while continuously reflecting on the ethical practices of how that knowledge was gained in the past (Anderson and Swedlund 1999, Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997). Theories ranging from borderland studies and hybridity to intellectual practices that delve into meanings and deconstructions of history and knowledge production, interdisciplinary non-canonical ranges within cultural studies spanning communications, political and historical studies, sociology, anthropology, and literary criticism for instance, should all be introduced into the study of Native cultures, giving the scholar the freedom to investigate, accept or reject these theoretical interventions. Another way to provide new avenues for research would be to investigate Native Americans as groups who have lived under diasporic conditions (Clifford 1997, Ong 1999). Theories dealing with migration and transnationalism may lend insight into the Native American experience. American Indians, while remaining in place, are more or less compatible with those who have had to assimilate in a dominant society while struggling to retain identity.

Tribes appropriating the museum trope still believe that much of the exhibit and display policies potentially mirror past museum politics of representation (Strong 2004, Hooper-Greenhill 1992). By introducing technology into the forum of narrative

representations, Plateau tribes such as the CTUIR are experimenting with new forms for self-representation located within their exhibit and beyond museum walls in the virtual sphere (Karson 1999) that diverge from the standard museum trope. Technology is suited to many indigenous groups and non-governmental organizations, mirroring belief traits that are not concerned with fixity, viewing political borders as imposed abstracts and desiring communal networking with other indigenous cultures or historically marginalized groups. As a set of representational frames, the internet is also assisting in contemporary identity formations as repatriation movements return cultural property to tribes, either resulting in traditional uses of cultural objects or negotiation of projects for exhibition (Jonaitis 1999, Merrill et al. 1993). As cultural and intellectual property is maintained in the struggle over identity and ownership, new issues arise over the rights of the indigenous, as owning cultural knowledge expands the notion of copyright (Brown 1998, 2003; Coombe 1998). Further research might involve tourism's affects upon Native identity among and between tribal groups on the Plateau. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1997) has led much of this inquiry, asking whether indigenous tourism is a valid source of economic development or rather an invasive and necessary evil. Another question to ask is whether or not a particular kind of tourism matters and how. Will tribal museums replace Indian casinos or will they continue to coexist as public forums for tribal representation and economic growth? These and other fundamental questions remain regarding economic diversification and the role of the tribal museum as a viable form of cultural tourism into the future. Lastly, if the repatriation movement is vital to tribal cultural tourism efforts, then what could be the ultimate challenge to repatriation is currently unfolding in the crisis surrounding contaminated collections.

Repatriation and the Crisis of Contamination

Fundamental success in the repatriation movement is seen in the number of museums and cultural centers now owned and operated by tribal nations. For the Confederated Tribes, as I contend in this dissertation, repatriation extends beyond the standard meaning of the term (the return of objects of cultural patrimony or human remains to their designated tribes) to include the reclamation, reorientation, and rejuvenation of a historical and cultural narrative based in oral tradition and driven by a tribal perspective. I have argued that cultural property coming home, while a community milestone, is also a diasporic, mythic, and contaminated return, as much literal as it is figurative. Cultural property coming home is an experience of success complicated by residues, of historical trauma, the conflation of Indian-white identities, and chemicals.

It was common in the last century to treat Indian artifacts with pesticides to protect the materials, ranging from the feathers and leather of regalia to the fibers in baskets. Beginning in the 1800's, heavy metal treatments infused such poisons as mercury, lead, and arsenic into the artifacts. Even into the 1980's such pesticides as DDT might have been applied. Museums were intensive users of pesticides for their collections. It is a growing issue due to the return of Native objects under NAGPRA, simply because Tribes may put these objects back in use. Such uses could include wearing ceremonial masks or other regalia for ceremony and performance.

Tamástslikt was confronted with this issue of contaminated collections as they became part of a national inquiry into repatriated cultural material laced with arsenic and other toxins. Many of the objects in the Vert collection may be literally hazardous to one's health, and repatriation is therefore complicated if not impossible to achieve if one

cannot manage and handle these collections for fear of being poisoned. While a milestone for this community, cultural property coming home, in this instance, is laced with the issue of contamination:

> "The myth of return refers to the desire by migrants to return to a 'homeland,' to a country of origin, even though the return may never take place. It remains, however, a powerful imperative that drives migrants to view their return home as either imminent, or even delayed, despite constant postponement or even the eventual abandonment of return itself" [Bhachu 1993: 165].

The myth of return is literal and figurative in this situation, meaning that when toxic residues accompany cultural property returns, simultaneously the material, like migrants, may never "go home again" to who they once were, in a return to a previous function or way of life once they have been altered by outside forces and elements (and once the Native language and traditional knowledge surrounding the object recedes). Hybrid forms and practices surrounding returned objects are thus produced. Through an understanding of Brian Stross' (1976) theory of the shift from biological to cultural hybridity, a mongrel hybrid is produced through mutation. I view this field site of the reservation as a crossroads of study, where notions of hybridity and borderlands involve disaporic conditions of return that are mythic and unattainable in a pure sense. This thesis may only be auto biographical, a route of inquiry similarly expressed by David Samuels. He seeks to understand how hybridity may be an outside perspective that may do an injustice to the way in which Natives experience their cultures (Samuels 1999). The metaphors I most often encountered at my field location have to do with the notions of claiming and of coming home. It has been my intension to tie it to a hybrid form of return, aided in this by Nestor Garcia Canclini's work on "the future of the past" (1995:

107), which shows us how a modern project such as repatriation can "reactivate modernity" in former sites of cultural patrimony, in museums for instance (1995:118). Synthesizing Bourdieu's notion of the social reproduction of inequality with a Gramscian struggle over hegemony, Garcia Canclini formulates the nature of this hybrid of the traditional and the modern, and warns that without this social formation, "cultural politics becomes a struggle against ways of appealing to culture and history, thereby legitimizing current relations of inequality" (1995: xiii). Again, just as the artist is not autonomous without the market, repatriation is not a pure form of cultural return, but needs to react with what and how it is being returned in order for it to occur. I would call this a figurative contamination of the return. The following testimonial from Tamástslikt archivist Malissa Minthorn-Winks speaks to the present concern:

> The 2000 Conference of Tribal Libraries, Museums, and Archives had a presentation on the issue of contaminated collections. The rare public meeting on the topic was surprising given that most of the information regarding the issue to date had been passed around the tribal museum community in a more traditional sense, by word of mouth. While attending conservation training at the Burke Museum of the University of Washington, I connected the conference topic to the training and had some random testing done of our own museum holdings. The presence of toxic residues were found on these items in our collection. Seeking the correct knowledge, money and training to confront this problem has created challenges. Until the issue is made more clear, we must treat our own cultural property as toxic waste material, restricting its usage and disposal. One beauty of the tribal museum is the ability it gives the community to breathe new life into ancestral material, with the goal of also putting these cultural objects to their original intended use. This is just one more instance where contamination is confronting our cultural traditional practices. Our reservation sits next to a nuclear reactor and a chemical storage depot and the impact to subsistence foods is not a brand new issue on the horizon. There is much to be learned from past history, since we have had to deal with hazards of contamination to our cultural as well as physical landscapes [Tamástslikt transcript of Malissa Minthorn-Winks, 9/2001].

As this process of repatriation was taking place for Tamástslikt staff and myself in the Spring of 2001, a workshop-symposium was occurring simultaneously near Washington DC to address and formulate solutions to deal with the unfolding problem, resulting in a report, "Contaminated Collections: Preservation, Access, and Use." As I wrote this, my fieldnotes played to and against the facts revealed in the symposium report as a coinciding contrast. At the 2000 AAA meeting, a representative from the National Museum of the American Indian panel on "Curating Collaborations" also began to call attention to repatriation and health issues, declaring that 'collaboration' is the buzzword of the day, in fieldwork, in exhibit design and elsewhere. But he explained, "the idea of conservation or preservation does not connect to the Native view of objects having life cycles, ashes to ashes, dust to dust. 'In stasis' is not a good place for these objects. They assume an active role and are not passive, inanimate, museum objects. Including Native practices in museum curation is not an anti-science." This argument comes with the understanding that "traditional care" has come to mean two different things to the indigenous museum community and non-Native museum curators.

Curatorial Cultural Practice

The cases of contaminated collections and the petroglyph carved boulders detailed in chapter four constitute examples of repatriation fallout that could be compared to the unforeseen aftereffects felt by those dealing with the Omaha sacred pole after its return, in that they are akin to the level of complexity Ridington describes. In the Omaha's case,

some members of the community felt that it was potentially unhealthy to use or display the pole in a museum setting or other interpretive space (1997). The two cases at Tamástslikt differ from each other in that one involves the fundamental physical effects of contamination whereas the boulder repatriation is entangled in social and political effects and conflicts. However, contamination holds components of the social as well, due to the handling, circulation, and uses which are now impossible in the post-repatriation life of the objects in this collection. Tamástslikt takes this all into account via a cultural system in place that can potentially heal these issues through a process of reconciliation.

Curatorial cultural practice is a term which describes the Tribes' relationship to their own museum, policies, and practices. By creating a new curation sensitivity and practice while modeling the legacy of the museum, the Tribes can exercise resistance within accepted parameters. Twice a year, Tamástslikt collections and the building receive blessings with a religious service. In this way, the museum is being "cleansed." Any residual feelings that may have accompanied the objects and made their way into the museum are cleansed away in the ceremony which includes opening all doors, performing a religious *waashat* ceremony, and burning sage in specific areas. As a comparative example, I was told a story of a Native American pipe that was part of a non-Indian museum. It was housed in such a way that certain pieces were not kept together with traditional accompanying sacred objects. A descendant of the former owner of the pipe told the story this way: "I dreamt my pipe was crying. I went and asked the museum people if I could pray with it. I discovered that the bundle had been

split up." Curation therefore has specific cultural concerns that must be most strongly adhered to by tribal museums themselves, with more at stake.

Phillip Cash Cash discusses the medicine bundle as a kind of sacred object often found in a tribal museum (2001). Along with preservation comes a culturally sensitive handling of the bundle, in keeping with the spiritual practices this handling entails. Considerations of this nature are crucial when trying to deal with the cleaning process of contaminated objects in a collaborative way, posing a dual challenge, one involving the spiritual health of the tribe in addition to the goal of sanitization. Also, curatorial cultural practice would be forced to change if these pieces were forced back into a hermetically sealed, former state, ignoring the transition in repatriation from "standard" curation to the incorporation of a culturally-based practice.

The national park service and the museum community have been aware of pesticide residues such as arsenic clinging to objects and have developed standards for handling them, as evidenced by a 1993 Department of the Interior "Conserve-O-Gram." At that time, the future seemed haunted with questions like, 'Can repatriation and reburial create consequences of great concern such as leading to the contamination of soil and groundwater?' It was clear then that further study would resolve as much as it would reveal about the complex and, at times, arduous process of repatriation. In a letter from James Nason, The Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, to Roberta Conner, director, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, dated July 23, 2002, in reference to the Vert collection, Nason suggests "testing approximately 400 specimens for pesticide contamination." Tamástslikt staff are presently discussing just how to respond and act, foremost in the inquiry is whether the items can truly be cleaned and restored to a

previous state. Tamástslikt Cultural Institute holds an annual "Reservation Roadshow" that offers the public an opportunity to bring family heirlooms such as artifacts, books, photographs, beadwork, regalia, and baskets for appraisal and evaluation by experts from all over the country. Recently, someone trained in the technology was present to test pieces from people's collections and interpret the results of the X-ray fluorescence (XRF) spectrometer in measuring chemical residue. With this testing, it has been found that some objects were tainted with heavy metals and arsenic, both residues of pesticides. A warning has been issued that people should be concerned about possible contamination especially when they don't know the provenance or source of their object, and that using such items might not be good for one's health. In many cases, a tribal members' ancestor traded something from an Indian trader who got it from a museum where these objects were tainted.

In my view, repatriation constitutes the act of coming home. I use diaspora in a metaphoric extension inextricably tied, through animism, from people imbued with souls to objects of culture, also imbued with souls. My use of the non-human persons metaphor comes via an understanding here of the suggestion of diaspora as a useful heuristic device. Tribal members' own metaphors surrounding the experience come out in ways in which selective claiming aid in the process of welcoming these objects home, and it is, in the very least, alarming, that effects of historical trauma are made more tangible by poisons of past eras. Simply put, the objects are sick. The growing power base associated with NAGPRA is changing the way this tribal group and others actively maintain and preserve their cultural heritage and the knowledge surrounding their history. The movement remains significant to the Confederated Tribes' of the Umatilla as they

continue to engage in the process of taking control of cultural material and other controls lost to them over the years. They face these challenges in the establishment of an interpretive center/tribal museum with readiness and determination, only adding to it is the recent critical issue of contaminated collections. TCI registrar, Randall Melton, explained the transition in stewardship this way:

> …While inventorying Native American objects within a city collection that had remained in place since the 1930's, our tribal museum curation staff conducted a basic condition report only to find that many items were dangerous to human health if directly exposed to. As part of the stewardship process, we began to put into place handling procedures in order to isolate the objects. Written policies were not in place, so verbal understandings on how to handle things were made clear, with a basic isolation policy instructing no handling of the items until more information was known. Things already behind glass and on display were to be left untouched. The public debate on the city collection revolved around whether or not these cultural items belonged to the Confederated Tribes and if it was ultimately the Tribes that should take stewardship of them. After a long and drawn out process of taking control of the objects, we were to find out they were toxic. As a tribe, we have had to train the non-Native community how to best handle the objects that they have not returned. A "hot potato" situation over the objects is continuing to play itself out. At any rate, the stewardship is a ten year agreement and after that, the struggle over these items in terms of control and proper handling will arise again. As cultural property changes hands, so does the role of stewardship, and the ensuing potential hazards may prove to be both social and physical between two communities within one larger community [Tamástslikt transcript of Randall Melton, 9/2001].

The repatriation of the Vert collection and the ensuing crisis of contamination was like waking the sleeping giant in that the smooth and continued success of repatriation seemed too good to be true. Many tribal members are not strangers to the ties that history and culture have to landscape. In fact, when people or things have been unearthed in the past, it is a long held belief among many that it is taboo to disturb that which has been

buried. It is not only considered desecration to awake the dead but misuse or mishandling of objects of cultural patrimony is equally disturbing. As a venerated Cayuse elder once said, “everything had its place” and the Indian people knew where those places on the landscape were.

The notion of toxic artifacts did not enter the minds, at least publicly, of lobbyists and legislators as they successfully passed and implemented repatriation legislation awarding federally recognized tribes the right of receiving human remains for reburial and cultural material from points known and unknown back to their homelands over ten years ago. Some of these objects belong in the ground and others were used in religious ceremonies, and tribal members want to use them again in public forums for cultural and historical purposes. But there has been concern that past conservation and preservation techniques - including the use of mercury and arsenic salts and, later, pesticides to keep the items bug-free - might leave some artifacts laced with toxic residues.

Researchers have slowly begun to test items for traces of mercury and arsenic and pesticides including DDT and lindane. In many cases, results show that the items do contain significant residues of many of the compounds, and could pose a health risk to anyone handling them. While more research is needed, particularly because little is known about what kind of exposure risks the handling of these cultural items entails. In the meantime, researchers suggest that the wisest course is not to use, handle or exhibit them in any form of open and public display. Tribes are rightfully concerned with the state of their repatriated objects. At present, there is a significant gap in knowledge of the types and levels of toxicities involved and the chemical agents used over the years. The problem is not only a matter of concern for Native Americans in and for their

communities, but represents a significant and troubling issue for museums, private collectors and the visiting public as well.

Large traces of pesticide residues clinging to objects of cultural patrimony returning to tribal museums today present a new and ominous factor. Technologies are being perfected to test items for levels of toxicity. Policies are being implemented to collaboratively deal with issues between tribal groups and previous collection holders. I write about this subject not to alert the public and museum community of this crisis (as I believe this is responsibly being addressed by many in the indigenous museum community) – but to discuss the issue as a crossroads experience – through my own peripheral involvement with it - as a return but with a sting of irony, a repatriation case resulting in the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla Tribes getting much more than they bargained for. The crisis of contamination turned a moment of success into a laced experience on another parallel. At the time, these encounters already entailed a level of shock regarding the return of the objects, such as that described by J. The possibility of toxic harmful agents accompanying them was unexpected, if not surprising.

The scenario just explained exemplifies how repatriation can lead to a generalized collective trauma. In contrast to that sense of trauma that is evoked, a positive outcome of repatriation can be an overall move towards tribal wellness. Much of the story of contact has been the making of a legacy of trauma for the Tribes, in addition to events such as war, death of a parent, relocation, and boarding school experiences, for example. The social responses to historical trauma can be manifested in suicides, abuse and addictions, as well as in death related to those addictions. Although it may sound so, this sickness is not just an individual issue but can be shared and felt by all in the community. The

historical trauma trickles down through the generations, and subtly impacts all, including the young.

Scientific Truth Meets the Role of Anthropologist as Collaborator

My 'social location' in this process is explicitly about my identity vis-à-vis the subject(s). In my work with the Tribes, I have a privileged place within, in respect to seeing, understanding, and participating in the ways in which tribal narratives about self and past have been constructed, for example around the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. My fieldnotes have served to locate me more explicitly in this project, process, and moment.

Tamástslikt tells the story of the *cay-uma-wa* people and also told that story through Lewis and Clark. The Lewis and Clark history is nothing special to tribes if manifest destiny was hurting the Indian way of life. The explorers were just a tiny piece of the story – 2 weeks 200 years ago – but it is a story that accelerates change. In 1805, Lewis and Clark accelerated the opening of the west. By 1818, the northwest fur trade was active. By 1855, the Walla Walla Treaty Council was held. The Corps of Discovery made this all possible within a fifty year time span.

In Lewis and Clark Bicentennial events, tribes are stakeholders and must be part of planning as collaborators, or they will have to fix it later. They are therefore stakeholders in their own tourism as well. The goal here is to keep things natural, perhaps as Lewis and Clark saw it. The effort with the Lewis and Clark Gallery Guide was simply to, "keep it local, keep it ours." At Wildhorse Resort and Casino however, there

are some counter intuitive elements present. The golf course is in an arid environment, with over use of water and is damaging to soil. The landscaping is not so much Native plants as it is animal topiaries and structured flower beds. Tamástslikt also uses architecture to exclaim, "We've arrived!" but the purpose within is much larger. It tells a story about people in a place. The sense of place, time, and ownership all come together in a visceral experience, partly natural outdoors and partly produced/reproduced indoors. As Conner reminds us, "Our belief system states that our creator gave us this place, put us here, and gave us the responsibility to protect it and to protect salmon, the first food, for example. To experience the story, you need to be in the place. The story is most meaningful if you are with us in our homeland." This personal connection to history is experienced collectively. It is redemptive for people to come to Tamástslikt and tell you if they are part Indian. Americans are fascinated and ashamed with Indian history, getting through the pain, shame, and guilt. This is one of the primary reasons for tribal participation in the Lewis and Clark commemoration.

Ownership of history is contentious and there exists an inherent possessiveness over it. These Tribes are aware that oral history has been used against them, as it has often been seen as folklore, myth, or legend instead of history. The Tribes want to own, tell, and keep their story but now they are willing to tell their story to outside people. They usually don't tell it to anybody outside, and this has placed it in the category of tall tales instead of history. A primary goal of Tamástslikt and the purposeful projects taking place there is simply, as Bobbie Conner puts it, to "make known the unknown history, impart how little books actually tell you and show how much the history can come alive. Anthropologists had the heat turned up on them in the sweathouse for a reason. If you

want to have our stories, you have to pay first!" The American Anthropological Association's code of ethics underscores that anthropologists are to do no harm in the area and among the human subjects with which the anthropologist works. It appears that tribal people have a more realistic take on that code and treat the effects that the anthropologist incurs on a community as a given whereby retribution tactics are often called for.

Blending the Observer and the Observed

These Plateau Tribes have been able to simultaneously change and retain culture due to an adaptability they have been perfecting over time. In addition, predominantly non-violent relations with those around them also guided them in their development of a sympathetic political base. However, there has been and there is still considerable anti-Indian sentiment locally and there is much sustained distrust as there is growing trust. In any event, engaging in ethnographic research on the contemporary life of Native Americans is based very much on a reciprocal relationship between the observer and the observed. Is it possible to study progressive enculturations among a Native American group without claiming oneself with the authority of a Native Americanist, whereby implications of that claim require a solid foundation of the ethnographic and ethnohistorical material related to a specific culture? To work with Native Americans on the Plateau entails observing those in the process of self-representation, further complicating the project of ethnographic study (Trafzer 1998). Yet, I have faith that people I work with will continue to productively tell and show me just how they and their

cultures have changed and remained the same, and that my knowing this will matter as I return the knowledge with a useful applied practice in anthropology that serves the academy as well as the tribal community.

Efforts towards repatriating knowledge along with artifacts have already begun. Tamástslikt director, Bobbie Conner recently told the following story to the local newspaper, the East Oregonian. In 1967, her mother gave a small beaded flat bag to her great aunt who in turn gave it to Bruce Rigsby, a distinguished linguistic and social anthropologist who worked with her aunt on preserving the Tribes' languages. Dr. Rigsby took the bag with him to Australia, and just last year, he returned it to the Tribes. The small bag traveled for nearly 40 years and across the Pacific Ocean and on to another continent before making its way back home. "Every one of the thousands of artifacts the institute holds has a story," Conner said. (East Oregonian, October 14, 2007). The travel narrative embedded in this story attaches a disaporic context to the migration of the small beaded bag. The bag came home after a long exile and while the term 'diaspora' may not have been used in Conner's story, the affect of the circumstances still suggests it is a useful trope.

Many past projects by anthropologists working in this region have been collaborative in their writing and research with informants (Ray 1938 et al, Stern 1956, Aoki 1979, Aoki and Walker 1989, Axtell and Aragon 1997), but fewer have physically contributed to Plateau culture and history through direct assistance to the tribes in their own efforts towards self-representation, such as in the case of anthropologist Bruce Rigsby. I hope my research will assist in the formation of new representations stemming from the repatriation movement, as those involved pursue ownership and control over the

visual and oral narrative in a politically substantiated realm. To accomplish this task, the role of outside anthropologist is collaborative and connective, supporting tribes towards an enhancement of their power base and continued sustainability, while at the same time accomplishing independent anthropological study. By shifting the role of representative scholar to work alongside with, instead of in place of, Indian authority, Devon Mihesuah asserts, "scholars can only strive for accuracy by scrutinizing all available data, by incorporating the accounts and interpretations of the participants and their descendents – both Indian and non-Indian – into their analyses, and by holding their pro- or anti-Indian biases in check (Mihesuah 1998)." In her compilation of essays, *Natives and Academics*, Mihesuah warns that there are those who still believe Indians cannot accurately write about themselves because they are too close to the topic, but while she reminds us that "no one Indian voice exists," so too should we remember that not all relationships between tribes and researchers are the same and a successful one will only result through continued collaboration and mutual respect.

Continuing Assessments

A relationship between the two processes of repatriation and self-representation is embodied in the project of Tamástslikt itself. Tribal museums and cultural centers are widely established now in large part due to the need that repatriation legislation has created for tribes to store and display returned cultural property. As an extension of the repatriation movement, written accounts of the historical legacies which led up to that movement are being developed. Through this space and the public gatherings conducted

therein, the Confederated Tribes institute culture, claim history and manage change in a socially political and open manner, one which they control and establish. Using memory and place, oral history testimonials and bearing witness, authority over the narrative takes hold in a newly established context, one which shifts the existing paradigm towards a new dominant, inside the public venue of the tribally owned and operated museum/cultural center itself. The museum locale serves as a form of repatriation and as a forum for self-representation in its reconnection with place in a pre-existing landscape of the homeland. This backdrop situates my topic by using grounded theory accessible to myself, to the audience of my academic peers, and to the tribal community with whom I live and work.

I have found that the nature of anthropological study of the North American Indian is constantly contested and changing. Engaging in ethnographic research on the contemporary life of Native Peoples of the Columbia Plateau is now based very much on a reciprocal relationship between the observer and the observed. A cultural renewal is underway due to the exchange of ideas within the cultural centers, institutes and museums now taking shape and prospering on many reservations and ancestral homelands. The movement towards cultural preservation, historical retellings and self-representation in the public sphere is due in large part to the repatriation laws, which have returned cultural material as well as intellectual property rights back to the tribes. These laws themselves are responses to Native American activism. My research ascertains how the activism surrounding the 'Kennewick Man' case and ensuing repatriation efforts have affected the confederation of tribes that initially claimed him.

The role of the anthropologist must change to meet new standards of representation that create a collaboration between the one representing and those in the process of self-representation if we wish to continue to learn from and engage with and between cultural groups. My research will enable me to fulfill the role of a collaborative and useful anthropologist for the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation. In return, my research will impart this process on the anthropological community in hopes of recasting the anthropologist as one who fulfills the role of cultural worker without directly representing (and thereby risk overtaking) those in the process of self-representation. Rather than being concerned with what is still unknown about the Plateau as an "understudied" cultural region (Anderson and Swedlund 1999, Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997), anthropologists working in and around Columbia Plateau groups and tribal museums may benefit best by incorporating what is known into what can be learned presently, while continuously reflecting on the ethical practices of how that knowledge was gained in the past.

Theorizing my dissertation project is one way of discussing my work and another is to relay what I have learned from the people I lived with for the fieldwork year. Finding connections between the two is presenting a challenge as I attempt to avoid formulating theory that is inaccessible to the tribes. Also, there are instances from my fieldwork where I was asked to keep the knowledge shared to myself. I continue to seek the moments where the analytical and experiential interact, for instance, in representation and reclamation leading to greater Indian repatriation and tribal museums or in the development of tribal historiography and the power to claim history and the self.

There are ethical quandaries relating to my dissertation project which could be considered problematic, however, I believe they ultimately stem from the challenge of practicing contemporary anthropology with an equally theoretically balanced and applied purpose. The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla are a highly organized and technologically equipped society in the process of developing their own institutions of culture and education. One of the main concerns of the CTUIR is its freedom to self-govern and self-represent. Tribal members would rather present themselves to the world in their own time and in their own manner and thus hold very strong positions towards an anthropology that they believe attempts to interpret them through the institutional or scientific authority it claims.

Therefore, the historical memory attached to me as an anthropologist poses a problem in conducting research among the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla peoples. Access and negative attitudes towards study within their community had to be broached and overcome. Some reciprocity has always been central to the ethnographic enterprise. As I offered my services to the group, I did so in the form of a necessary contribution to their organization in exchange for their guidance and support of my research.

It was at times difficult to work on behalf of the Tribes within the protocol outlined in the AAA Code of Ethics. Since the group is sometimes opposed to the type of studies anthropologists are trained for, it was a challenge to balance their viewpoint with those of my own professional field. One of my research goals was to assess the ways in which new repatriation legislation is changing the Tribes. If this assessment casts the Tribes in an unfavorable light, could making these findings public possibly be detrimental to them or stand in contrast to their asserted goals?

I had the unique opportunity to be the first outside researcher to study in residence at the cultural institute. In that capacity, the tribes welcomed my interaction after a period of trial and skepticism. Establishing a use for my abilities and for those who follow me is ongoing and collaborative in my follow-up work and further dealings with people from Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation. I continue to participate in assisting with funding searches and organizational tasks, assisting them when and where I can to become an institute in a broader sense of the term.

Timing has always been crucial to my research as it has been to the completion of my dissertation. My fieldwork at Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and on the Umatilla Indian Reservation fell within the time period of the commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial through the tribal homeland as well as the 1855 Treaty Sesquicentennial, being one of 11 U.S. treaties signed with Native people in an 11-month period throughout the inland and coastal northwest. My arrival coincided with a series of convocations of tribal elders, Native students and scholars to bring to light the tribal perspective on these historical events. I was allowed to document and become involved in several of the "projects with purpose" stemming from these convocations. Due to the collaborative nature of my own work in conjunction with the Tribes' important projects, my research was primarily self-funded. For me, the role of the social anthropologist in Indian country has been applied and collaborative. It has been to assist in creating a workable past and laying claim to the future together.

Sharing the Traumas and Tropes of History

In an analysis of the Holocaust, Ian Buruma writes that this traumatic historical event has been an inspiration for others. He writes, "Almost every community, be it a nation or a religious or ethnic or sexual minority, has a bone to pick with history (1999)."[6] Yet, for all groups to define themselves strictly as historical victims would show a lack of historical perspective. Jewish and African diasporas can be seen in a structural sense, as part of a system of oppositions, in that meanings and signs have a relational identity. But rather than simply remaining binary, they are generative and are capable of creating new categories. James Clifford strives for a comparative scope as well, yet nonetheless admits that his work holds a North American bias, with usage of terms that are understood locally, such as "minority", "immigrant" and "ethnic". He does begin to account for class division and gender bias in his arguments, giving his work a broader appeal to those interested in the complexity of diaspora. Admittedly, I too am forced to deal with the historical entanglements that occur when the term is adapted or broadly applied. Does Jewish particularism only come to being because of diaspora, and does African American difference occur in spite of diaspora? These different results only begin to shed light on the contemporary task at hand – to define and enhance the term and its usage so as to accommodate flows of people in multiple directions and for a multitude of reasons.

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[6] See Ian Buruma's "The Joys and Perils of Victimhood" in The New York Review of Books, 4/8/99, for a discussion of history as political influence. See also Clifford's essay, "Diaspora" in *Routes*, 1997.

The perspective of the Umatilla Tribes are as unique as they are global, in that they do not strictly define their past as one of total victimization nor their present cultural authority as infused strictly with structures of power informed by past oppression. Perhaps the sense of renewal one feels after visiting Tamástlikt Cultural Institute results from a relief felt on both sides of the victim/oppressor binary. Clearly, any intended experience is not without its contradictions, but it is precisely the freedom found through these contradictions that may allow for Wendy Brown's (1995) desire for the end of the twentieth century, the ability for people with historical and political connections to generate futures together rather than navigate or survive them.

For the last couple of decades the World has witnessed an increasing number of disputes about cultural heritage ownership, and often these result in claims for repatriation. Since most of the disputes relate to material appropriated within a colonial or otherwise occupational context, repatriation isn't restricted to having museological implications, but touches upon a wide variety of political, legal, ethical and cultural issues. Cultural tourism has become a credible way in which to generate money for Native communities, and is closely tied to a tourist economy based around the commodification of cultural artifacts and their tie to the homeland**.** In another story in the local paper, Bobbie Conner makes a firm argument for the connective ties between the artifact and its landscape, in a familial sense, as if the basket was spawned from the cedar tree itself: "A basket in the collection woven from cedar roots shows more than beautiful craft work. It shows that cedar trees were once part of the natural landscape. The basket maker had to have knowledge of the land to know where to find the tree roots, to know how to harvest those roots and prepare them so they could be woven together" (East

Oregonian, October 14, 2007). Stories like these promote the relationship objects, art, and artifacts have to their homeland, reminding that they are all part of the Tribes' cultural knowledge tied to the ecosystem and to biodiversity.

I have tried in this dissertation to connect repatriation to building efforts in self-representation. I then attempted to show how those forms of self-representation can further self-determination practices, establishing new forms of sovereignty. Acts of claiming occur in commemorative events which tie the past to the present adding new information to that historicized moment. In this act occurs the repatriation of more than just objects but of knowledge. The repatriation of ethnographic knowledge is evidenced in the amount of scholarly fieldnotes which are now coming home. Luke Lassiter contends that "repatriation now means bringing anthropological knowledge 'back home' as cultural critique to bear on pressing social and cultural problems" (2005:164). The repatriation of ethnographic knowledge entails the act of seeing anthropology itself as a cultural process, a reflexive view Ira Jacknis calls "the anthropological encounter" which he claims requires a movement of acculturation on both sides (Jacknis 2002: 2). The products of ethnographic research fall under a paradigm shift due to repatriation's after effects now being felt by anthropologists and tribes. Repatriation cases have now been shown to address several relevant parties: tribal members, researchers and museum curators, representatives of institutions and agencies, as well as local and worldwide inter- and non-governmental organizations. A major aim is to create understanding and mutual respect between the parties involved, in order to work out solutions and models for collaboration in future repatriation disputes.

Through commemoration, the Confederated Tribes affirm and reinforce their cultural ties to the land and to each other. In March of 2007, this was the occasion at Celilo Falls for all Columbia River Tribes, including the Umatilla, Walla Walla and Cayuse. Elders who hold living memory of the place, descendants of fishing families, as well as spiritual and political leaders among others will meet there to affirm the importance of these Falls in their collective history, tales and experiences. These commemorations promise to provide the best symbolization of their tribal unity in a contemporary context. Looking at historical trauma and collective memory have taught me that one needs the past to formulate the present, one needs to feel that past to feel the present, in looking back to the future.

A Round-Up of my Own

My hope is that this dissertation contributes to and has taken leads from Native American studies, museum studies, and cultural studies, but is primarily located within the field of anthropology. The legacy of work with North American indigenous communities within anthropology has informed me and is where I hope to create an effect with my own work. Therefore, rather than rejecting or discarding the sometimes troubling relationship anthropology has had with Native America, I see this dissertation as a discussion of changes and adjustments within that relationship.

My role has been one of helping to realize "projects with purpose" (as they have been so-coined) for the Umatilla Tribes within a cultural institute/museum setting. In so doing, I was engaging in forms of ethnographic work in a tribal museum – working

within a particular Native worldview, spanning from curation to interpretation. My work has been for the most part applied and of a collaborative nature. This relates to my dissertation thesis – that repatriation leads to self-representation via collaborative processes. Collaborative processes, I have found, allow for anthropological research and knowledge to be shared, accessed and somewhat (at times) controlled by Native communities.

Collaboration is part of a larger trend in anthropology as researchers and communities under study are increasing calling for it. Luke Lassiter's work with the Kiowa of Oklahoma is an example of collaborative ethnography centered on the evolving nature of the ethnographic process due to an open collaboration he had with the community (1998). As a result, his writings were often co-partnered and multivocal in their accessibility. I was similarly engaged in an emerging exercise in understanding repatriation as it operated in a particular place, but while the work I did with the Tribes and my own research had similar goals and alignments, my writing was my own and I strove to keep it separate from tribally generated projects.

The collaborative work that Julie Cruikshank is engaged in with Northern Athabaskan groups in the Yukon often places her in the role of interlocutor. She is often asked to serve as liason between indigenous communities she works with and environmental scientists who seek out traditional ecological knowledge (known in their field as TEK) to inform their scientific inquiry. She does not simply translate or interpret between groups, but attempts to create the space for common grounds of understanding. I too filled a role as a 'go-between,' helping to create opportunities for collaborative processes to take place, but more so between the Tribes and the anthropological

community from generations past, whereas Cruikshank highlights how the information is communicated from one group to another through storytelling (2005).

Unique to my fieldwork experience, I have seen and assisted in anthropologists giving back to the Tribes, sometimes at the end of their careers or even posthumously. Specifically, they have been making their research (fieldnotes, raw data, and the like) available and easily accessible to those (or the descendants of those) who were the subjects of that research. Tamástslikt is the space created for this effort. Scholars like Lassiter and Cruikshank are important to me in this regard as they seem to counter the oppositional dialectic put in place by the debate over The Ancient One/Kennewick Man between tribes and anthropologists at this site and moment.

Another contribution I hope to make is tied to the substantive point just mentioned (of anthropologists showing reciprocity and return by sending their papers to Tamástslikt at the end of their careers. For all intents and purposes, I feel as though I am accomplishing this at the beginning of my career). The repatriation of knowledge takes place in that information once gathered there comes home to rest and perhaps be reintegrated among the Tribes. The repatriation movement and much of the literature attached to it has been essential in that effort and in laying the groundwork for understanding the way repatriation unfolds for the Umatilla Tribes. But in choosing to locate my ideas, my intellectual influences stray from any established literature on repatriation, which has been more the focus of archaeology and law to this point. Arjun Appadurai (1986) allows me to see the active nature of things, which is for me, repatriated material, and expand upon it in seeing the possibility for additional meanings and messages to come home as well. The repatriation of knowledge verges on an act of

restitution, which can, as Elazar Barkan has written, create the consciousness of a collective need for reconciliation (2001, 2002). Ironically, while these scholars may not be considered central to the literature on repatriation, they nevertheless allow me to see new ways of understanding repatriation and thus as a result, perhaps contribute something new to the existing body of literature.

Future directions for my research include the completion of the Sahaptian Native place names atlas which, along with the tribal history book, was a tangible result of the convocations. I would also like to look at other efforts towards economic diversification, those which are based on land management, land tenure and land claims, such as eco-tourism and wind farm investments. A new economic endeavor called, Cayuse Technologies is also providing opportunity in this rural setting where the standard of living costs less than in the larger cities. Through these cases, I would like to ascertain where their stance is in relation to the land. I have found that terming tribes as environmentalist or not seems to polarize the discourse in unmanageable ways.

Learning Lessons

I have learned that a project of self-representation can be contested by those involved in the process itself. I have learned that repatriation can be contaminated and conflicted. I have learned that a study of repatriation is also a study of tribal politics, internal and external. I have also learned that collaboration can involve a constantly shifting negotiation of power. Identity formations which seem to have clear cut definitions can be much more informed when one lingers and dwells with them. The

apple metaphor is fitting, for instance, not just for its argument about assimilation (which by itself feels too externally imposed) but for its ability to also break down myths and stereotypes about Native Americans today. The example of elders as a mythic representation of the old world, the embodiment of purity, and untainted by the modern day experience is false. What is truer is that elders play golf and go to the casino among all of the other things they engage in. Another argument pertains to restitution and casino wealth. While there is certainly the willingness for the resources they offer, modern day tribal groups are taking the opportunity to reinvent identities and casinos are an important component of that. Casinos can be tied to a tribal narrative as they are also about the age old traditional practice of redistributing wealth among the group. With the application of this narrative, there is a process of constructing and reclaiming tribal identity going on at the same time. Filling in the details such as these allows for an assessment that involves a much more complex social justice. Seeing these examples for myself and working in the community on an ongoing basis allowed me to explode these categories. While an identity of a people can be both hybrid and sovereign, so too can the projects that the group produces. The tribal history book is a case in point, as it is an example of cultural sovereignty but was collaborated on by many people, of whom not all were Native.

I have learned that viewing collaboration as a smooth and uncomplicated process can be too crippling. Rather, its richness lies in the complexities of the collaborative ethnographic experience. Les Field cites examples of successful repatriations such as that of the Zuni war-god known as ‘Ahayu:da’ where anthropologists (Zuni and non Zuni) were key collaborators in that repatriation, adding weight to the explanation that these objects were specifically not intended for preservation (2004). This is fitting in that

anthropologists were also in many cases responsible for those objects leaving tribal hands in the first place and making their ways to the Smithsonian and other academic repositories. Now, often occupying complex mediator positionings, Field explains, "…It becomes clear, as in the Omaha case, how historically important anthropologists and central disciplinary goals had facilitated the removal of Ahayu:da from Zuni control" (2004: 482). He appropriately claims that it is now a criterion to be collaborative with native communities in order to accomplish fieldwork responsibly and that the context of that collaboration is important (2004). It is becoming a shared endeavor, suggests Field:

> Collaboration between anthropologists and Tlingit and Haida tribal members and leaders provides a final example of applications of anthropology which not only advance tribal goals but change anthropology itself. The combined effect of such collaboration has resulted in texts that reflect native concerns rather than historical anthropological obsessions about Pacific Northwest indigenous peoples, for example, 'explaining' the potlatch, wealth complexes, and the like [Field 2004: 482].

Equally important are the policies tribes are putting in place to bound or monitor the anthropologist in the field in some way while undertaking that fieldwork, striving and working towards a balance of power in that relationship. It is undetermined if this balance is fully attainable. Tribal members reminded anthropologist Douglas Foley that he would publish his manuscript whether people liked it or not, as he was a professor who took for granted his right to speak publicly. Foley agreed on principal: "No amount of open dialogue over the text will completely abolish the power difference between the outside investigator and the community being studied." He points out that even collaborative models still preserve the right of the author to represent others but that a "dialogic ethnographic process" (1995: 207) came about by arguing over his text. "Most

reviewers had the common sense to see my text as just a story. My story" (1995: 207). And this was a true statement for me as well. I could tell my story as long as I was also available to use my skill sets as an ethnographer, researcher, writer, and editor to tell the tribes' story in ways agreed upon by them. It seemed like a pretty good deal to me and still does. As was the case in Foley's writing, neither story I am involved in may be an infallible objective scientific study. There are personal reasons for all writing endeavors, Tamástslikt's, the tribes as a whole, individual tribal authors, and myself. If what Foley admits to is true, that, "Maybe 'social science' boils down to one person trying to understand him or herself enough to understand other people" (1995: 220), then this is truly partial and incomplete. As much as the search for self continues, so does this study.

My story of the collaborative approach was accidental and experimental. To be a useful presence at the tribal museum, effectively serving as a volunteer, turned out to be how I negotiated access to the field site. Working under Tamástslikt served the tribes as a way to bind and monitor my fieldwork and to insure I would not run rampant over their community. The worrisome issue was that it I would potentially become too ambivalent about representing tribal politics, points of conflict, and myself in that process, that my perspectives would align with those of the Tribes too much, that self-censorship would occur. After all, I was potentially to be employed by the very folks and institute that was my subject of study. How was I to objectively convey the politics of Tamástslikt and how it factors into tribal relations? I struggled with way to resolve that issue all along and still do. One clear vision that came through was to be clear which writings were on behalf of the tribes (the tribal history book, which I edited) and which fell under my own jurisdiction (the dissertation).

Upon finishing this document, I continue to ask myself what gives me the right as an outsider to explore, among other things, Indian-white relations in a place where they have been worked out without me for hundreds of years and where they are continuing that process? Analysis of my distance and relative closeness assist me in understanding. My positioning is different than that of Doug Foley, who grew up in the community, returning to reconcile things as part of his anthropological project. I am not conducting a Sol Tax style form of action anthropology with a preconceived and presumably pre-ordained rescue mission, but I came and I stayed, perhaps long enough to see what the community wanted me to do. And I am effectively still here and still involved on a daily basis, and writing from a position of closeness as well as distance. I freely admit that my role created a tendency towards self-censorship as the interlocutor at times. With this, I am acknowledging too that my obligations must remain fluid yet concrete while my work must, as must I, remain open to internal and external re-interpretation. And I will continue to be here as much as I am needed and welcomed, pledging to myself and the community never to live farther than a day's driving distance away. I sincerely and earnestly hope to keep this pledge, and so far, seven years after first arriving here, aside from the year I returned to the University of Texas, I have done so. Having said that however, some traditions die hard and as many anthropologists before me, I arrived at a place and took my leave if only temporarily after the major fieldwork was completed. For what it is worth, I too had an "exit" narrative of my own, but in my case, it was merely a transition to something else, I like to think, to something more.

The Middle of Somewhere

Driving away from that same place where I turned off of Interstate 84 a year earlier, I imagined myself in the final scene from the film, *Thunderheart* in Val Kilmer's shoes as he reached the crossroads of the localism of the reservation and the anonymity of the rest of the world, but the fantasy was brief. I noticed in my rear view mirror that I was being chased down by a car. I pulled into the Arrowhead Truck Stop and a man in cowboy boots stepped out of the back seat of a camaro-type vehicle that was clearly undergoing alteration with mismatched paint and parts and as I later found out, only a functional driver side door. It was the elder who had been my language teacher and who had taken it upon himself to guide and care for my well-being for much of the year. I was being flagged down for one last goodbye from *Wetyétmas Hiq Hiq* (White Swan), also known as *Átway* Mr. Gordon Watters. While *Átway* is an honorific term applied to the deceased, this elder would pass away within the year from a very aggressive cancer. The Watters family had a legacy of raising anthropologists. Gordon's father had adopted a young graduate student a generation before me, who was now a professor at Lewis and Clark State College, adjacent to the Nez Perce reservation in Idaho. Gordon always referred to this man as his brother. He made sure that I felt a part of the family too, the next generation, perhaps, of dwelling scholars to establish relationships in his homeland. What I realize now that I may not have on that day was that Gordon was not bidding me farewell but extending a welcoming hand. The conclusion of fieldwork was not the end of my time on the reservation and he seemed to know that better than me. What I did not realize then, and what he apparently did, was that it was only the beginning.

Fig. 6.1 My naming ceremony in the tribal longhouse at *Nixyáawi* (aka Mission, Oregon), July 4th, 2002. Items handed out at my giveaway included mats made of tule reed (bulrush) and Pendleton blankets. The author received the name, *Wetyétmas'anmay* (Swan) in honor of the deceased elder, *Wetyétmas Híq Híq* (White Swan). Photo by Dallas Dick.

Appendix

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1.	TCI	Tamástslikt Cultural Institute
2.	CTUIR	Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation
3.	NAGPRA	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act
4.	CRPP	Cultural Resources Protection Program
5.	GIS	Geographic Information Systems
6.	FAQ	Frequently Asked Question

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Jennifer Marie Karson was born in Los Angeles, California on January 29th, 1965, to Rosalind Faith Karson and Eugene Frederick Karson M.D. She graduated from Fairfax High School in Los Angeles in 1983 and attained her Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of California at Santa Barbara in 1987, majoring in Liberal Studies with concentrations in Anthropology, English, and French. She worked for eight years as a documentary journalist in Los Angeles, Seattle, and New York before returning to graduate school to study race relations. She earned a Master of Arts degree in Cultural Studies in 1998 from Claremont Graduate University in Claremont, California and upon completion, entered directly into a doctoral program in Social Anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin. Her fieldwork with the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation in northeastern Oregon led to a grant position as Publications Coordinator at their tribal museum, Tamástslikt Cultural Institute in 2003. In this position, she has edited two collaborative works with the Tribes, a tribal history book entitled, *Wiyáxayxt / Wiyáakaa'awn / As Days Go By* from the University of Washington Press (2006) and a Native place names and ethnogeographic atlas (forthcoming). She has also been employed as an instructor of anthropology at Whitman College in Walla Walla since 2006. She lives in Pendleton, Oregon with her sweetheart, Micah Engum, River and Ruby Engum, and their cat, Spike.

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